

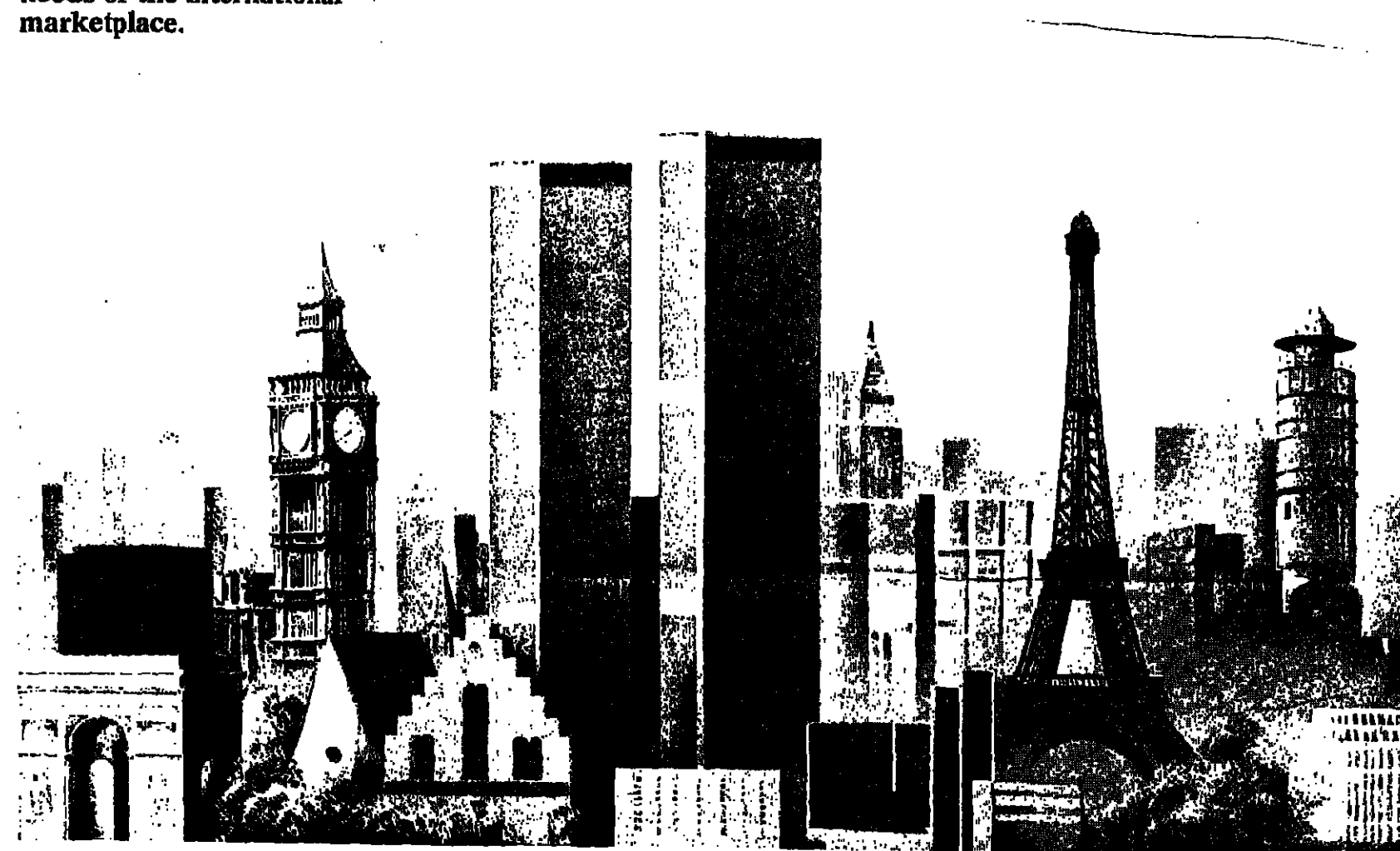
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THE JERUSALEM POST

INTERNATIONAL EDITION

THE LATEST NEWS FROM ISRAEL
Published in Jerusalem
מסגרת בישראל

Sharp debate has raged the past week on political and military strategy in the aftermath of the cease-fire. This thinking is reflected on pages 10 to 13. Other features include a questioning examination of German reparations, 14.

No. 1083. PUBLISHED WEEKLY • 2-8 AUGUST 1981 • 2-8 AV 5741 • 2-8 SHAWWAL 140



Pivotal figures in the coalition negotiations enter a meeting with Prime Minister Menachem Begin. Left to right are Aryeh Hahn and Yosef Burg of the National Religious Party, Rabbi Shlomo Lorincz of Agudat Yisrael and Aharon Abuhatzira of Tami. (Rahamim Israeli)

Coalition could be in the bag

There was an air of confidence among Likud politicians at press time with reports that Premier Menachem Begin and his potential government partners were nearing completion of a formal coalition agreement.

Nevertheless, the "Who is a Jew" obstacle still loomed large. This refers to a demand by Agudat Yisrael, the non-Zionist religious party, that for purposes of the Law of Return, only those proselytes undergoing the traditional mode of conversion be considered Jews. This would require amendment of the Law of Return. While favouring such an amendment personally, Premier Begin has made it clear that he cannot guarantee such legislation but only press for it.

There had been indications in the last few days that the Aguda's religious mentors, the Council of Tora Sages, would accept Begin's private undertaking to do all in his power to persuade the Knesset to amend the law.

With the policy guidelines of the new government virtually drawn up as the week began, it was felt that Begin, who has pledged not to ask

for a time extension, could present his new cabinet to the Knesset by Tuesday.

He was expected to muster a 61-member majority in the 120-seat Knesset. The government would comprise Mr. Begin's Likud, 48 seats; National Religious Party, 6; Agudat Yisrael, 4; and Aharon Abuhatzira's new ethnic Sephardi party, Tami, 3.

The NRP's Yosef Burg told reporters on Sunday that "nobody ever gets 100 per cent of what they demand." Tami's Aharon Abuhatzira has however reportedly been persuaded by Begin to surrender the Religious Affairs portfolio to the NRP, the party he abandoned just before the elections to establish Tami.

When Begin accepted from President Yitzhak Navon last month the mandate to form a government, he gave himself a time limit of 21 days (though he is entitled to an extension) in which to form a government. The possibility then arose that if he failed, new elections could be called.

Another hurdle was the demand by Tami that it be given two cabinet portfolios despite its having only

three seats. The demand by Tami that its leader, Religious Affairs Minister Abuhatzira, be allowed to retain that ministry, angered the NRP, which argued that the Ministry was its traditional domain.

To complicate Mr. Begin's task, the NRP put forth a list of demands in the social and economic spheres.

The Aguda has reportedly been promised more financial backing to help in the establishment of religious communities, and for maintaining its network of religious schools. In another agreement, the Aguda was reportedly promised that secular Jewish men who decide to return to the traditional Jewish way of life would be exempted from reserve duty for a period of three years — to enable them to enrol in seminaries for intensive religious studies.

The proposal, it is understood, also frees married women from reserve duty, and calls for shelving of any proposed legislation regarding mandatory national service by girls.

Asked about the agreement, an Aguda spokesman said on Sunday (Continued on page 2)

Manhunt for terrorists who attacked local bus

Jerusalem Post Reporter

A manhunt was still under way at the weekend for two terrorists armed with automatic weapons who fired at an Egged bus Wednesday night near Kibbutz Ma'aleh Hahamisha, about 10 kilometres west of Jerusalem, wounding four persons.

A passenger in her seventh month of pregnancy is in critical condition in Jerusalem's Sha'are Zedek Hospital after a bullet passed through her stomach and out her back. The woman, Mrs. Dvora Arad, lost her child.

A boy was shot in the elbow and a man and a woman sustained light wounds, a hospital spokesman said.

The No. 65 bus from Jerusalem was ambushed at 9 p.m. as it negotiated an uphill turn near the kibbutz, which is two kilometres from the "Green Line", the pre-1967 border.

A passenger said the terrorists unleashed about 15 rounds of single-shot fire which brought the bus to an almost immediate halt.

The 15 passengers, he said, threw themselves on the floor when the shots hit and then left the bus and hid along the roadside after the driver failed to restart the engine.

In Beirut, the PLO claimed responsibility for the attack on what it called "the military Zionist bus."

The attack apparently made good a threat by the Fatah leader commander in Lebanon, Khalil Wazir (Abu Jihad), that the ter-

rorists would not halt attacks within Israel despite the cease-fire that ended the recent fighting in the north.

On the morning following the attack, Israel served notice that it reserves the right to strike back at the PLO, saying that the cease-fire in South Lebanon does not give the terrorist movement immunity from punishment.

Half a dozen West Bank villages southwest of Ramallah were placed under curfew and searched.

Uri Porat, Prime Minister Menachem Begin's spokesman, was quoted as calling the attack, a violation of the cease-fire.

But later he issued a statement saying he had been misunderstood. He said as far as Israel is concerned no cease-fire had been concluded with the terrorist movement. He then warned that the cease-fire would "not give the PLO immunity of any sort" from punishment for attacks like the bus ambush.

Mapam secretary-general Victor Shemtov KM last week warned the government against retaliatory action like that of the Litani Operation, which followed the 1978 coastal road massacre of a busload of Israelis by terrorists.

A police spokesman last week said that the assailants had left behind a Palestinian flag and a wooden cross on which was written "In memory of victims of the Beirut bombing."

By WOLF BLITZER, in Washington, and agencies

The present cease-fire on the Israel-Lebanon border should be expanded into a comprehensive peace settlement and UN forces there should broaden the areas of their patrols, the U.S. believes.

This was made clear at the weekend by a senior American official in a briefing for newsmen accompanying Secretary of State Alexander Haig to the 22-nation foreign ministers' meeting in Cancun, Mexico. (The term "senior official" is accepted nomenclature for the secretary of state.)

As for the truce itself, which came into force on July 24, there have been several incidents of shelling by terrorists in Lebanon. Inside Israel, a terrorist attack on a civilian bus near Jerusalem left four people wounded, one of them critically, and the Prime Minister's spokesman condemned it as a violation of the ceasefire. (See separate report.)

Last week also saw a brief air battle in which Israeli planes on a reconnaissance flight over Lebanon downed a Syrian Mig-25.

The senior American official in Mexico said U.S. efforts would focus on strengthening Lebanon's central government and obtaining assistance from European allies, as well as Arab nations in the region.

Moderate Arab countries, he said, may now be developing a "consensus" that would have an important effect on future negotiations under the Camp David ac-

cords between Israel and Egypt.

He said he was encouraged by the fact that the Palestine Liberation Organization was now a party to a peace settlement. But he noted U.S. policy bars recognition of, or negotiation with the PLO until it recognized Israel's right to exist.

"The PLO knows the requirement, and maybe that requirement will be easier for it under a consensus of the kind that is now beginning to shape up within the Arab world," he said.

The senior official indicated that eventual resumption of deliveries of F-16 aircraft to Israel — suspended after the air strike against the Iraqi nuclear reactor and delayed further following the Israeli raid on PLO headquarters in Beirut — would not be tied to Prime Minister Menachem Begin's visit to Washington, due next month. Instead, the lessening of tensions in Israel and South Lebanon would be the chief influence on the decision, he said.

Another consignment of four F-16s is due to be shipped to Israel August 10. Meanwhile, the Reagan administration indicated last week it publicly supports Israel's version of the cease-fire agreement on the Israeli-Lebanese border.

State Department spokesman Dean Fischer told reporters that under terms of the agreement Israel could continue its reconnaissance flights over Lebanon. He also said that the PLO is forbidden to attack Major Sa'ad Haddad's Christian enclave in South Lebanon.

The PLO has maintained that the Israeli overflights are a violation, and that PLO shelling of Christian strongholds in South Lebanon did not come within the terms of the cease-fire.

At the White House, U.S. Special Envoy Philip Habib, who negotiated the recent cease-fire after the Israel-PLO flare-up, was warmly praised by President Reagan last week for calming the Middle East tensions. But Reagan refused to say publicly what the next step in Habib's mission will be.

Speaking at the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Habib said Saudi Arabia had been extremely helpful in the behind-the-scenes negotiations that led to the ceasefire.

He reportedly confirmed that at the request of the U.S., the Saudis had been in direct touch with the PLO and other influential factors in Lebanon and Syria.

Meanwhile, Prime Minister Menachem Begin continued to

(Continued on page 2)

NEWSSTAND PRICES IN LOCAL CURRENCY

Australia	\$1.10	Italy	£1.200
Canada	\$1.25	South Africa	R41.10
Denmark	DK6.50	Sweden	SK4.00
Germany	DM1.75	Switzerland	SF1.55
Holland	DF2.00	United Kingdom	40p
Israel	₪8.50	United States	\$1.00

Sadat visit 'coincides with new initiative'

Jerusalem Post Staff
Egyptian President Anwar Sadat is in Washington this week for the first meeting between President Ronald Reagan and a Middle Eastern head-of-state.

Prime Minister Begin is due to visit Washington for talks next month.

The Cairo weekly *Akbar el-Yom* Saturday quoted what it called a well-informed U.S. official as saying that the visit coincided with a "new stage" in which Reagan for the first time will be in a position to devote sufficient time to the Middle East.

The paper said that Reagan has not had a "clearly defined" idea of what he should be doing in dealing with the Middle East.

According to a senior U.S. of-

ficial accompanying Secretary of State Alexander Haig on his Mexican visit, the Reagan-Sadat talks will include discussions on how to proceed with Palestinian autonomy negotiations, which were suspended by Egypt a few months ago.

In Washington, State Department spokesman Dean Fischer said the Reagan administration "is not totally wedded to the approach of the previous (Carter) administration" on the Palestinian autonomy negotiations. He said the Reagan administration is still trying to come up with a proper approach towards the stalled autonomy talks.

Sadat's trip includes a two-day stop in London, for talks with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington.

Carrington, who is chairman of the Council of the European Economic Community, advocates simultaneous recognition of each other by Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization, Sadat shares this view.

After leaving the U.S., Sadat will visit Austria, where he will discuss European initiatives on the Middle East with Chancellor Bruno Kreisky.

Terror targets hit in raid

Jerusalem Post Reporter
TEL AVIV. — The IDF last week specified the military targets which were hit in the Israeli air strike on Beirut on July 17.

Quoting Beirut newspapers that came out one day after the strike, the IDF spokesman's office listed the following military objectives as destroyed:

- a terrorist ammunition dump at el-Fakhani
- Palestinian bases set up recently in the el-Jenah area in Beirut
- six 130mm. and 155mm. field artillery batteries
- eight mobile Katyusha launchers in Fatah service
- an anti-aircraft missile battery near the Shilla and Sabra camps
- 80 military vehicles on the outskirts of Sabra
- an Arab Liberation Front position
- a Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine position

Among targets listed as damaged were buildings in el-Fakhani which housed headquarters for the Democratic Front and Arab Liberation Front.

At least 100 Palestinian terrorists were killed in the raid, according to "reliable sources."

Dry Bones



'COALITION IN THE BAG'

(Continued from page one)

that the chief difference between the agreement with the Likud and that with Alignment governments in previous years was that the latter made its promises orally while the Likud has agreed to put them in writing.

Asked by reporters Sunday what would be a new Likud government's policy guidelines, the NRP's Yehuda Ben-Meir listed some of them as follows:

Observance of the Camp David Accords as part of the quest for peace; Israel's right to sovereignty over Judea and Samaria; continuation of settlement activity; no removal of settlements from the Golan Heights or abandoning of that area; free education from age three onwards; and the provisions of rental housing for persons unable or unwilling to purchase their home.

Political Reporter Sarah Honig writes:

Prime Minister Begin is certain that he will present his new government to the Knesset for approval on Tuesday, just one day before the expiration of the three-week period allotted him to put his coalition together.

In an informal meeting with top Defence Ministry personnel on Friday, Begin reportedly bade them farewell and said that this was his last conference with them in his capacity of defence minister. As of next Tuesday, he told the staff, they would be working with a new minister — Ariel Sharon.

At one stage last week some observers believed there was a strong chance that Mr. Begin would fail in the coalition efforts. Sources close to the prime minister attribute a sudden change in the situation to the fact that "all the small parties realize that the time is running out for brinkmanship exercises. If they don't get reasonable in a hurry, they will have to face the unpleasant alternative of early elections."

Begin conferred privately with Tami's Aharon Abuhatzira late Thursday night, following a gathering in his home of leaders of all

potential coalition parties. In that talk he is said to have stressed to Abuhatzira the need to relinquish the Religious Affairs portfolio and hand it over to the NRP.

Abuhatzira was said to have been ready, in effect, to accept the Labour and Social Affairs portfolio — if a suitable position is found to compensate his No. 2 man, Aharon Uzan.

Uzan had hinted that his loyalty to the new coalition hinges on his getting a portfolio of his own, but Begin again stressed that this is out of the question.

Likud sources now believe that the impasse could be broken by making Tami's third MK, Ben-Zion Rubin, deputy to Abuhatzira and by awarding Uzan a deputy ministerial post elsewhere, possibly in the Absorption Ministry.

Lea Levavi writes: Shimon Peres' leadership of the Labour Party should be submitted to a vote of confidence inside the party before the next general elections are held, according to top party official MK Gad Ya'acobi.

Ya'acobi said he doubted Peres could form a government under existing conditions, even if Begin would give up and the President offered Peres the chance. Therefore, he said, the party should spend time working out its political programme for the future and not merely wait for new elections.

Asked during a Friday interview on Israel Radio if Peres and other party leaders should step down because of the mistakes made during the last campaign, Ya'acobi said: "Of course, before the next elections, all of us will have to pass the democratic test of elections within the party by secret ballot."

The Labour Party will have to do some soul-searching and housecleaning, Ya'acobi said. Some of the factors which kept the Alignment from victory were beyond Labour's control, he said, citing the bombing of the Iraqi reactor and Finance Minister Yoram Aridor's economic policies. But he admitted that mistakes were made which could have been prevented.

HOME NEWS

Gafny clashes with Treasury on economic policy

Aridor plans to replace Bank chief

By SHLOMO MAOZ
Post Economic Reporter

Finance Minister Yoram Aridor and Bank of Israel Governor Arnon Gafny are in a head-on collision on several central economic issues, with Aridor determined to replace Gafny in his post when the governor's five-year term expires in three months.

The most immediate of the issues on which the two disagree is that of the rate of the devaluation of the shekel. The *Jerusalem Post* has learned that Aridor has asked Gafny to slow the rate of devaluation, but the bank governor has refused.

The power to determine the rate of devaluation was shifted from the Treasury to the Bank of Israel as part of the Likud government's new economic policy of October 1977.

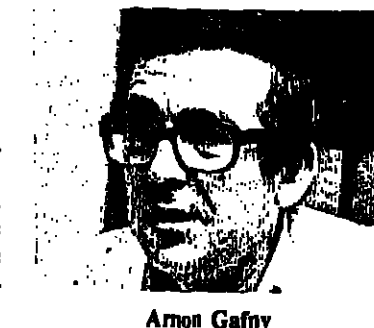
The *Post* has also learned that the rate of devaluation of the shekel can be expected to be slowed significantly when Gafny steps down and is replaced by a governor whose views are more compatible with those of the finance minister.

Gafny, on the other hand, told *The Post* that Aridor's policy would further harm the economy, because only by devaluation can Israeli exporters be compensated.

Aridor said he was aware of the fact that a slowed devaluation rate would be detrimental to Israel's balance of payments. However, he said, "that is the price we must pay in order to slow down inflation."

Aside from purely economic consequences, "it is unthinkable that the Bank of Israel should be pursuing a policy of its own that is diametrically opposed to that of the Finance Ministry," Aridor said.

Relations between Aridor and Gafny reached a nadir last week with the publication of the latter's report on the rise in the means of



Arnon Gafny

payment.

In the report, Gafny strongly criticizes the government for its economic policy of the past half-year, which, he says, has entailed a sharp increase in governmental spending, a widening gap between governmental income from taxes and its spending, a rise in private consumption, and a deterioration in the balance-of-payments situation.

He warns that if the government does not promptly take steps to reverse all the above, Aridor's "sole accomplishment" to date as finance minister, the reduction of the rate of inflation, will be "obliterated," and the balance-of-payments situation will get worse yet.

Gafny recommends, among other things, that the government cut its spending according to a planned programme, and not by freeze orders such as those it issued recently; that it gradually raise the prices of subsidized commodities, especially fuel; and that it put restraints on credit.

Aridor commented to *The Post* that Gafny's report only underscores his, the finance minister's, achievements — first and foremost being the slowed inflationary rate.

Furthermore, the report notes the increased collection of taxes in real terms, the increased export of industrial products, the lowered interest rate, the drop in unemployment, and the decrease in the commercial deficit in nominal terms.

Above all, Aridor said, inflationary expectations have declined.

Aridor also says that encouraging export by means of the exchange rate, as proposed by the Bank of Israel, is a prescription for a "dizzying inflation" — that is, a rise in the price of imports, which will lead to a rise in the prices of commodities.

Earlier last week Aridor notified Gafny that he is not reappointing the bank's two deputy governors, and that new appointments will be made only after the new government is formed.

The terms of office of Dr. Eliezer Sheffer and Dr. Zvi Sussman ended last week after decades of service with the bank.

Aridor's decision, reached after consultations with Prime Minister Menachem Begin, runs counter to Gafny's recommendation to extend the appointments of Sheffer and Sussman. Begin took a pivotal role in making the final decision.

In an interview with *The Jerusalem Post* Gafny stressed the importance of choosing deputy governors on the basis of their professional qualifications, as the outgoing deputies were selected. This precedent serves not only the Bank of Israel, but also the people of Israel.

The bank governor said that the Bank of Israel functions as a counterweight to the Treasury in the planning and execution of economic policy, basing its actions on purely professional, rather than on political, considerations. This holds true of central banks throughout the world.

Regarding the two outgoing deputies, Gafny had high praise for their recognized expertise in the fields of economic and monetary policy. Both Sheffer and Sussman have impeccable professional records, he said.

(Editorial comment page 23.)

Silence in the House

By ASHER WALLFISH
Post Knesset Reporter

Speaker Menachem Savidor has made sure the Tenth Knesset finally earns its keep this week by sitting for its usual three working days — Monday through Wednesday — with a full agenda.

Savidor gave *The Jerusalem Post* this week's agenda, which shows the government presenting seven new bills on Monday and Tuesday, for their first reading, and motions for the agenda by MKs on Wednesday.

The bills cover military justice, slum clearance, treatment by hypnosis, interest and price index linkage in judgments on damages, compensation for absentee property owners, and two matters affecting the Bar Association.

The House sitting of July 29 was cancelled by Savidor because the deputy speakers and the committees had not yet been chosen, so there was nothing on the agenda yet which could be taken up by the plenum.

Two Alignment MKs, Moshe Shahal and Yosef Sarid, wrote to Savidor complaining that the Knesset had done nothing in its first two weeks. The government deliberately wanted to paralyze the Knesset, they charged.

Shahal and Sarid wrote: "The Knesset members get their salaries for doing nothing. They are being turned into free-loaders." They blamed Savidor.

The speaker told *The Post*: "There would have been no need to cancel the session, if the government had not been so slow about tabling these seven bills, which were all ready anyway. The bills had to wait 48 hours between tabling and the first reading, because the Knesset has no committees to waive the statutory 48-hour delay. I do not understand why the government could not have tabled its bills."

The speaker said the inactivity of the Tenth Knesset during its first



Yosef Sarid, Alignment... "turned into free-loaders."

fortnight was "a blow at parliamentary prestige in the eyes of the public and a waste of money as well, with MKs getting their salaries as usual and the building operating fully-staffed and fully-served as usual."

He said that the popular demand for a debate on the cease-fire in Lebanon would be satisfied once the new government was presented. "I think Prime Minister Menachem Begin understands that an urgent debate on the Lebanon cease-fire is inevitable," Savidor said.

Savidor said that whereas the principle of constitutional continuity in government ensured that the country was always ruled by a cabinet with full powers, the absence of a continuity principle in parliamentary life had proven very troublesome at the start of the Tenth Knesset.

"The parliamentarians who legislated the Basic Law: Knesset and the House Rules (*hakatan haknesset*) never envisaged a situation of near-equilibrium between two big parties, which has paralyzed the Tenth Knesset and prevented the formation of the committees and the election of deputy speakers," he said. "I shall propose amending the law to avoid such paralysis again."

In the last elections, on June 30, the Likud won 48 seats while the Alignment won 47. In a subsequent move, the Civil Rights Movement joined the Alignment as an autonomous adjunct, giving the Alignment one more seat.

Northern Galilee gets down to normal life again

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Life was slowly returning to normal in the Galilee last week, following the ceasefire agreement reached on July 24 which brought to an end almost two weeks of Katyusha and artillery shelling.

In Nahariya, it was back to work but not yet back to play.

Although the industrial plants, employing some 3,000 workers, were trying to make up for time lost in the shelters, the hotels and boarding-houses were still virtually empty "at the height of the season," as a hotelier pointed out. Hopes are high that Israeli holidaymakers will come to Nahariya, where they will receive reductions of up to 25 per cent and other boons and, incidentally, show their solidarity by filling hotel rooms foreign tourists have cancelled.

"We are still in an interregnum. The newsmen have gone and the holidaymakers have not come yet," Ilan Oppenheimer, manager of the Penguin Restaurant told *The Jerusalem Post*. "On the day following the cease-fire we were busy serving Nahariyans out of their shelters at last, but few guests. To-

day it is still a little slow."

The streets are bustling again and the beach is doing good business, though not yet normal. It is hard however, to find a Nahariyan who believes the cease-fire will last.

The general manager of a factory that received a direct hit on its power transformer said that Electric Corporation workers had put it back to work in 48 hours. The factory is back to full production and he has already received a cheque for one million shekels from the Treasury in damage compensation.

"They have promised to compensate for indirect damage of production losses too," he said hopefully. Yosef Sadeh, manager of the Frank Hotel and chairman of the local hoteliers association, said he plans an appeal to Jewish communities abroad to demonstrate their solidarity by spending their holidays in Nahariya this year.

In a show of solidarity with Israelis in the North, thousands of members of peace activist Abie Nathan's volunteer corps ("Abie's angels") embarked on a pilgrimage of goodwill to towns and settlements on the northern border in a convoy of 50 buses.

"I've visited Galilee and the people there don't need toys or money; they are proud, but lonely. We will show them that we are all one nation," Peace Ship owner Abie Nathan said.

Nathan and his convoy travelled from Kiryat Shmona to Margaliyot, Misgav Am, Shlomi and Nahariya, distributing flags and flowers to the residents.

In Jerusalem, the formulas for the initial compensation payments to industry, trade and services which suffered losses in the recent shelling of the Upper Galilee have been set by officials of the Treasury and the Ministry of Industry, Trade and Tourism.

They decided that industries which suffered losses will be given advances equal to the amount of salaries for work days lost during the shelling.

For hotels, the advances will be set at half of each hotel's receipts for the first half of July, less the income received in the second half of the month.

For trade and services, it was decided that the initial payment will cover losses incurred starting from the second day of the shelling. Normally compensation begins only after seven days of business losses.

In addition to Nahariya, the Galilee towns of Shlomi and Ma'alot, have been recommended to receive the status of urban border settlements, retroactive to July 9.

At first, it was decided only to recommend the change in status for Nahariya. However, during the thorough appraisal of damages following the cease-fire, it was determined that both Shlomi and Ma'alot deserve the special damage compensation that the new status entails.

In Kiryat Shmona, the town's appointed committee withdrew the dismissal notices it sent to five municipally workers for leaving the town during the shelling.

The decision was taken after the matter was discussed with each of the workers separately by a commission consisting of representatives of the local labour council, the municipal staff committee, and the chairman of the appointed committee.

The labour council had demanded yesterday that the appointed committee rescind its decision to suspend the municipal officials.

Labour Council secretary

Michael Ya'acobi said he believed all officials involved should have stayed in town, but said that neither the government nor the local administrative committee had done enough to prevent the situation from occurring.

"There were not enough shelters and people were forced to leave," said the secretary.

The parents' committee in Kiryat Shmona has voted to boycott the opening of the school year next month, claiming that the government has failed to supply the town with sorely adequate bomb shelters.

Committee chairman Albert Alfasi said last week that Prime Minister Menachem Begin and Deputy Defence Minister Mordechai Zupori had both pledged that Kiryat Shmona's shelters would be improved and expanded, but that these promises have not been kept.

The heads of settlements in the Galilee panhandle also complained yesterday of a severe shortage of bomb shelters and security rooms.

Zupori, who visited some of the settlements last week, promised to do all he could to avoid bureaucracy and to have the shelters built as quickly as possible.

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Iraq alleges: Israel-Iran arms deal

WASHINGTON. — The Iraqi government alleged at the weekend that Israel was sending American weapons and spare parts to Iran with the knowledge and approval of the U.S.

It said an Argentinian cargo plane which crashed in the Soviet Union on July 11 was carrying weapons from Israel to Iran.

Iraq on Friday summoned the American diplomat in charge of the U.S. interest section of the Belgian Embassy to protest against the shipments. Iraq severed diplomatic relations with the U.S. after the 1967 Six Day War.

Iraqi Foreign Ministry officials also met Arab ambassadors in Baghdad to outline the details of the "existing cooperation between Israel and Iran," the state-run Iraqi news agency said.

It said the ambassadors were told that the U.S. was of late giving Israel more than it needs, and thus allowing for the surplus weaponry to be sent to Iran.

"We believe that the United States is aware of this, and is in agreement with what is happening," the Arab ambassadors were told, according to the agency.

It said the ill-fated Argentinian plane had made three trips to Iran

before it crashed. Tass, the Soviet news agency, said the plane collided with a Soviet aircraft which had ordered it to land.

Dutch authorities said the plane, bound for Iran, had reported trouble with its radar-tracking device immediately after takeoff from Amsterdam.

According to information from Western Europe, the charter company that owned the plane had a reputation for dealing with unorthodox, high-risk operations.

The story is subject to military censorship in Israel, and reporters who have tried to send out stories on the subject of an Israeli-Iranian connection in the past have not succeeded.

The U.S. State Department says only, "We are not aware of any arms going from Israel to Iran."

But other government officials have been aware of such an arms connection for many years.

They say the link between the military establishments and intelligence organizations of both countries has survived the fall of the Shah, with slight interruption caused by the chaos of the Iranian revolution, and that it is a case of both nations "holding their noses and acting in their own self-interest."

The Iranian self-interest is apparent. Cut off from American supplies of arms by its own choice and then by a total embargo, Iran has been able to buy some unsophisticated arms on the international market, but only at extortionist prices.

Suddenly faced with a war with Iraq that is now dragging into its 11th month, Iran's military leaders found their nation facing a survival situation. In desperation, the military leaders revived the Israeli connection (both nations use American-made M-60 tanks and F-4 Phantom jets, for example).

U.S. sources say that for Israel, selling the ammunition and some tank and plane parts is a quick and easy way to earn a lot of desperately-needed hard currency. The actual transaction is handled by non-governmental Israeli firms, usually through brokers in Amsterdam, the sources said.

Israel selling arms to a fanatically anti-Zionist regime such as Iran's seems self-destructive, except in the logic of international politics where "the enemy of my enemy is my friend."

One U.S. official suggests a principal motive behind Israel's arms sales has been to prevent an Iraqi victory.

Rabbi Avidani, of Jerusalem, at 101

Rabbi Alwan Avidani, the revered leader of Jerusalem's Kurdish community, died here last week at the age of 101 and was buried at the Mount of Olives cemetery.

Rabbi Avidani served for many years as rabbi of Amadiya, in Kurdistan. When conditions became difficult for Jews in Arab lands following the 1929 riots in Palestine, he was instrumental in organizing the departure of scores of Jewish families who eventually arrived in this country.

He settled with his family in the Old City of Jerusalem in 1932, and persuaded the elders of the Kurdish community to build a synagogue in the Zichron Yoseph quarter outside the walls. He himself moved there and taught in the Talmud Tora attached to the synagogue.

Rabbi Avidani was for over half a century the central figure of the Kurdish community in Israel — teaching, arbitrating disputes, com-



forting in sorrow, and rejoicing in celebrations. Despite his venerable age, he continued to serve as *hazan*, *shohet*, *mohel*, and *darshan*. He wrote a commentary on the pentateuch and other works.

He lived modestly in a tiny one-room flat, and had 14 children and many grandchildren and great-grandchildren.

A most popular figure, he was made a Jerusalem worthy in 1971. (A.Z.)

Yitzhak Shubinsky, pioneer car-builder

Yitzhak Shubinsky, pioneer of Israel's automobile industry, died in Haifa last week at the age of 67.

Born in Poland, Shubinsky came to this country at the age of 18 and first worked as a civil servant in Haifa's port. He then went into the import-export business. By the time the state was established he was determined that Israel should assemble its own automobiles, using imported engines and fiberglass bodies. He even advocated that only such automobiles should be allowed in Israel.

Shubinsky eventually became managing director of Autocars, which assembled Sitas, Carmels and other models which sold well here for many years.

The firm eventually collapsed, however, due to a combination of



under-capitalization, reduced tariff protection and over-extended development schemes. Autocars and Shubinsky's Til Company were sold off in 1971 to British and local firms. (A.Z.)

Dr. E. Superstein of Hadassah, at 55

The Director of Pharmacy Services of the Hadassah Medical Organization, Dr. Edward Superstein, died last week of a heart attack while on sabbatical in the U.S. He was 55.

Superstein was born in Detroit, Michigan in 1926, and since coming

to Israel in 1960, had served as director of pharmacy services at Hadassah in Ein Kerem. He was also a senior lecturer in the Hadassah-Hebrew University School of Pharmacy and was active in the International Federation of Clinical Pharmacists.

Handicapped sportsmen at world games

The world games of the handicapped opened at the newly built stadium near Stoke-Mandeville hospital in England last week with the participation of some 1,200 sportsmen from 42 countries, among them 28 from Israel.

Other Middle East participants are Egypt, Sudan, Kuwait, Jordan and Bahrain.

The stadium is named after the late Dr. Ludwig Guttmann, who initiated the idea of international games for the physically handicapped. Israel has participated in the games since 1952.

Israel captured a second gold and another silver at the Games at the end of last week. Marksman Meir Harush again struck gold when, in the kneeling position, he amassed 365 points, 15 ahead of a Dutch contender for the top place.

Fencer Sasson Aharoni took his second silver of the Games in the sabre event after beating fencers from Britain, Belgium and Holland.

Only an inferior points tally deprived him of the gold.

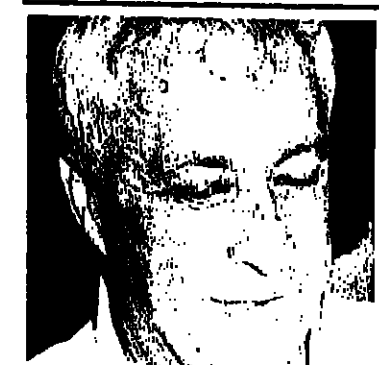
The basketballers went down in their final qualifying zone match to France by 70 points to 50, but the reserve basketballers' team were in good spirits after notching up their first victory of the tournament in another group. They beat Hong Kong 90-54.

There was nearly another medal for the Israel team when in the javelin throw, Nahum Wolf was edged out of the bronze finishing fourth with his best distance of 24.80 metres. Aharon Farkas has reached the quarter-finals of the table tennis and swimmer David Altoni qualified for the 25 m. freestyle swimming final.

After initial cool relations between the Israeli sportsmen and some teams from Arab countries, the ice has thawed and friendly contacts have been established with fellow participants from Jordan and Bahrain.

Politics as health therapy

PUBLIC FACES / Mark Segal



Ariel Sharon... who's a hawk?

BEGIN'S remarkable power over the public was in evidence again at Kiryat Shmona, when he paid a brief visit to the shell-battered town before the cease-fire and was greeted by cries of "Begin, Begin."

That may have been the reason that the premier was so buoyant later in the week, when he told a Likud rally in Bat Yam that "in my 58 years of public speaking, I have never encountered such enthusiastic audiences" as in the recent campaign. He also testified to the therapeutic value of electioneering, saying that the campaign "did my health a world of good."

The prime minister apparently didn't notice that many Kiryat Shmonans were not around when he praised "the marvellously high morale" he found in the shelters.

One reason for that morale was the massive help provided by the army. Military welfare workers "invaded" the town after the chief of staff, Rav-Aluf Raphael (Rafel) Eitan saw the ravages of the military war of attrition.

WHO SAYS that ex-military men are hawkish? According to recent reports, the two ex-generals in Premier Menachem Begin's government — Deputy Premier (and Rav-Aluf, res.) Yigael Yadin and Agriculture Minister (and Aluf, res.) Ariel Sharon were in the minority, together with Interior Minister Dr. Yosef Burg, in opposing the Beirut bombing. On the other hand, such non-military types

as Justice Minister Moshe Nissem and Health Minister Eliezer Shostak were in favour of the raid.

But Sharon, the defence minister-apparent if Begin forms a new government, may have reverted to his hawkish image later, when he was the only minister to vote against the cease-fire proposal.

NOW WE KNOW what's to blame for American displeasure. It is not Begin's election campaign attacks on Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger and not the timing of the Beirut raid on the eve of President Ronald Reagan's participating in the Montreal summit: the culprit is none other than Israel's press.

That's the scapegoat pinpointed by Energy Minister Yitzhak Moda'i when talking to Bar-Ilan University students last week. He said that U.S. officials had quoted liberally from critical articles in Israeli newspapers. Who was it who broke the mirror because the image was not to the viewer's liking? HOUSING MINISTER David Levy was reportedly not overjoyed to hear of Begin's decision to appoint Moshe Katzar as deputy minister in charge of Project Renewal, not only removing part of his authority but building up a prospective party rival. Such an appointment for Katzar, who is a popular MK on both

sides of the house, would be widely welcomed. At the latest Herut caucus meeting, Begin gave a personal reason for preferring the Kiryat Malachi council chairman: "I remember years ago during my rallies in Kiryat Malachi when Moshe was only four years old, yet he stood there in the crowd applauding 'Begin, Begin' with the rest..."

IT IS NOW five weeks since Ya'acov Meridor, Begin's would-be heir, made his sensational claim to discovering a new source of energy. Na?

Meanwhile, Meridor's group has extended its operations in a take-

over of Daphna Tours. When Meridor, Begin's future economic czar, was asked by a reporter to comment on whether his firm would pay the group's debts, he advised the newsmen to ask his partner, lawyer Avraham Ne'eman, declaring airily: "I never deal with such trivial details, only with transactions over a million dollars..."

ALL 18 Liberal MKs were surprised to find in their cubby holes a yarmulke with the inscription: "Yeled Tov Liberalim" (instead of Yeled Tov Yerushalaim) as a reminder of their shift away from the original party stand against the religious parties' demands. The sender was party youth leader Avraham (Fritzi) Fried, who included an imaginary legislative timetable with a Knesset debate on how to apply the biblical injunction of stoning adulterers.

AS LABOUR continues to study where things went wrong, Abba Eban recalled that after Adlai Stevenson lost the presidential elections, he commissioned a survey costing \$100,000 into the cause of his defeat. The 300-page tome began with the sentence: "The main reason why you lost was because you did not get enough votes..."

A VIABLE government coalition could have been formed from the political forces represented at the lavish 42nd birthday party held

recently in Kfar Shmaryahu by Wall Street lawyer Leon Charney. They included his best pal and partner Ezer Weizman, Labour's ex-Premier Yitzhak Rabin, Liberal Energy Minister Moda'i and two of his party lieutenants, new MKs Tel Aviv Deputy Mayor David Shifman and Pinhas Goldstein, and Telem's legal brain Ram Caspi. There were ex-generals galore like Motti Hod and Uri Ben-Ari, plus many business associates of Ch.W. Ltd. (Charney-Weizman), particularly their partner, real estate man and auto importer Ram Unger who hosted the party, and Avinoam Tocati, whose Arieh insurance firm is involved in the Ch.W. purchase of the Rassco Towers project. After midnight Charney entertained his guests with works of *hazan*, together with singer Mike Burstyn.

BRITISH AMBASSADOR Patrick Moberly held his first reception at the Ramat Gan residence last week to celebrate the royal wedding.

Moberly made an auspicious debut on the media here when greeting army radio listeners to the Tuesday evening newscast in halting Hebrew acquired in the mid-70s during his term here as commercial attache. Before explaining "the joy and happiness caused us" by the royal wedding, he sought to explain away a possible meeting between his boss, Lord Carrington, and PLO chief Yasser Arafat.

History of Sephardi Jews

By JUDY SIEGEL
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Veteran Sephardi leader Eliahu Eliachar has established a \$2.5 million fund to finance the writing of a history of Sephardi and Oriental Jews since the expulsion from Spain in 1492.

The establishment of the fund, to be named for Eliachar and his wife Hava, was announced on Friday at Beit Hanassi, the president's residence. The nonagenarian Eliachar, who traces his ancestry in this country back to 1485, arrived in a wheelchair, accompanied by members of his family.

The writing of the history, which will include the contributions of Sephardim to the Land of Israel, will be supervised by a committee of the Hebrew University, the World Sephardi Federation and the Sephardi Council in Jerusalem, which Eliachar headed for many years. The group began working when Eliachar founded Misgav Jerusalem, an institute on Sephardi culture, after the Six Day War.



Eliahu Eliachar

President Yitzhak Navon said the planned historical work is much needed, because "something of an injustice" has been done regarding Sephardi history and contributions.

Basing himself on genealogical research done by his sister Mazal, the president also disclosed that Eliachar had been responsible for the match between Navon's parents, and that the histories of the Navon and Eliachar families frequently intertwined.

Histadrut agrees to 100% C-o-L linkage

Post Economic Reporter

The Histadrut last week agreed to the Treasury's proposal to fully link wages to the consumer price index, compensating workers at a rate of 100 per cent for price rises, rather than the present 80 per cent.

But the Histadrut also insisted on additional special wage rises and raises for individual factories or in-

dustries, which were not included in the Treasury proposal.

Manufacturers Association President Avraham Shavit said earlier last week that management's roof organization, the Coordinating Committee of Economic Organizations, will not agree to full linkage of salaries to the consumer price index.

Our beloved husband, father and grandfather

JULIUS STREETT

passed away in Baltimore, Maryland on Tuesday, July 28, 1981 (28th Tamuz 5741) after a short illness.

The Family

Blind man wins Israel Bible Quiz

Jerusalem Post Reporter

A 43-year-old blind man from Acre will represent Israel this year at the International Bible Quiz, to be held in Jerusalem next month.

Moroccan-born Aharon Ben-Shoshan, a father of four and a graduate of a yeshiva, was selected to represent this country at a competition held last week in Tel Aviv.

Prime Minister Menachem Begin, who had urged resumption of the quiz after a long hiatus, was on hand to congratulate the winner.

Ben-Shoshan topped 11 other Bible scholars, who were selected from 250 contestants who took written tests on the local level.

The International Bible Quiz will bring together dozens of Bible enthusiasts — most of them non-Jewish — from around the world.

Greetings to Moslems

President Yitzhak Navon and Prime Minister Menachem Begin last week greeted Israel's Moslems on the occasion of the Id el-Fitr festival marking the end last weekend of the month-long fast of Ramadan.

In addition, the sentences of 40 other Gaza prisoners — of whom 32 are imprisoned for security reasons and eight for criminal offences — will be reduced.

In a goodwill gesture to Egypt on the occasion, Israeli authorities last week decided to free 34 Gaza prisoners, 12 of whom had been jailed for security offences.

Z. Jabotinsky remembered

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Prime Minister Menachem Begin and President Yitzhak Navon last week joined cabinet ministers, Knesset Members and relatives at a memorial ceremony, at Mount Herzl Cemetery in Jerusalem marking the 41st anniversary of the death of Ze'ev Jabotinsky, founder of the Zionist Revisionist movement. Veteran Revisionist leader Yosef Klarman and the prime minister laid a wreath at the tomb.

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Air base head leaves after alleged anti-Semitic remark

By JEFFREY HELLER
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The anti-Semitic remark allegedly made by the former administrative head of the U.S. company building the Ramon air base was not the first incident of its kind at the construction site.

The Defence Ministry last week confirmed it had requested that Donald Bast be removed from his position following an inquiry into complaints that he made an anti-Semitic remark. Bast allegedly told the wife of an American Jewish engineer at Ramon that "Hiller should have finished what he started."

A spokeswoman for the A.B.C. (Airbase Construction) company, under contract to the U.S. Army Corp of Engineers, said "Bast is no longer working at A.B.C. and we understand he left the country on Thursday." The spokeswoman

declined to comment on whether Bast had actually made the remark or not.

The Jerusalem Post was told that while this was the first time the Defence Ministry exercised its option to ask the corps to replace an A.B.C. employee, it was not the first incident of anti-Semitism at Ramon. Swastikas were found daubed on buildings at the construction site when work there first started in 1979, a reliable source told *The Post*. Since then, however, no similar incidents have been reported.

The dismissal of Bast followed a complaint made by the American Jewish engineer to an Israeli officer at the site, claiming that Bast made the anti-Semitic comment during an argument, apparently over the right of engineers' families to remain at Ramon and use company facilities. A.B.C. has not yet appointed a permanent replacement for Bast, the company spokeswoman said.



The president's wife Ofra Navon gives her son Erez a sendoff shove in the midjet car in which he is about to receive some pointers on road safety in a model intersection set up in Liberty Bell Park in Jerusalem last week by the National Council for the Prevention of Accidents in cooperation with the police.

Roman structure discovered at Herzliya digging site

By SRAYA SHAPIRO
Jerusalem Post Reporter

HERZLIYA. — On the northern cliff of Herzliya, archeologists have been busy digging into the site where Reshef, Apollonia and Arsuf once stood. "It was apparently a centre second in importance only to Caesarea, sprawling over five or six hundred dunams," Dr. Yisrael Roll, of Tel Aviv University, told reporters last week.

During the first month of the dig which ended the weekend before last, a solid Roman-built 4th century structure hacked deep into the flank of the coastal rock was uncovered. "We have no idea yet what it served for," Dr. Roll said.

Potsherds with Greek, Hebrew and Arabic letters were found in the

area.

"The site was probably settled by Phoenician traders some 2,500 years ago. Reshef is the name of a Phoenician deity, which the Hellenes identified with Apollo, hence the name Apollonia. But the Arabs used the name Arsuf," Dr. Roll said.

Roll places hopes in the huge Crusader castle, built atop the coastal ridge, hardly 15 metres from the water. It is constructed in grey worked sandstone, but only the typical ogival ceiling of the great tower has been uncovered. "We hope to reach the floor before the end of the week, but so far, six metres down, it is not yet in sight."

Arsuf was the site of Richard the Lionheart's surprise victory over Saladin's irregulars on September 7, 1291.

Jewish deaf meet here

By LEA LEVAVI
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Whether or not Jewish law permits a hearing aid to be used on the Sabbath will be one of the topics discussed at the Second International Convention of Deaf Jews in Jerusalem this week.

At a press conference here last week, Isachar Goldrath, director of the Israel Association of the Deaf, explained that these international conferences are designed to bring deaf Jews in the Diaspora closer to Israel.

"They tend to assimilate even more rapidly than other Jews," he said, "because in many countries services for the deaf are provided by churches with missionary motives." In many cases, he added, religious education is not provided to deaf Jewish children, thus increasing the likelihood of assimilation.

The Respona project at Bar-Ilan University has compiled commentary on questions such as whether a hearing aid may be used on the Sabbath, whether negotiations by a deaf person are valid, and whether a deaf person's marriage or divorce is valid, and this material will be distributed at the convention, Goldrath said.

Sessions of the convention, all of which are conducted in both spoken language and the sign languages of the participants from various countries, also include lectures on rehabilitation, physical and psychological aspects of deafness and other subjects.

TA lifeguards back at work

TEL AVIV. — The city's life-guards last week agreed to end their sanctions and return to full work schedules, following Mayor Shlomo Lahat's acceptance of virtually all of their demands.

Lahat told reporters that he had agreed to add seven temporary life-guards to the 29 permanent ones, and to open two more life-guard stations at the Frishman and Geula beaches, which had been closed this year.

A committee agreed upon by both Lahat and the life-guards, who are represented by the local labour council, will examine the one remaining problem — whether one life-guard station can adequately guard both male and female religious beaches north of the Hilton beach.

Josef Goldschmidt, 74

Josef Goldschmidt, former MK and deputy Minister of the Interior, died on July 25, at the age of 74.

Born in Frankfurt, Goldschmidt was trained in German and English universities and started his career as a teacher in Jerusalem. He served during the Mandate as an inspector of religious schools, and following the establishment of the state became director of the department for religious education in the Education Ministry.

He was elected as a National Religious Party Knesset Member in 1969, and served as deputy minister of Interior and chairman of the Knesset Law Committee. Goldschmidt also served as deputy mayor of Jerusalem.



Teddy Kollek, flanked by Mordechai Meir, president of the Israel Tennis Federation (left) and Rubin Josephs (right), refuses to take his admiration for a fine racket to its logical conclusion. (Rahamim Yisraeli)

Tennis centre in Jerusalem

Teddy Kollek disappointed his fans by failing to play a single set last week when the Jerusalem Tennis Centre was opened in a festive ceremony attended by leading sports personalities in Israel, tennis buffs of all ages from Jerusalem and children from the Katamon area, in which the courts are sited. Instead, the mayor made a short speech, and then presented a handsome trophy to Rubin Josephs of the U.S., the man who has done so much to bring the Jerusalem project to fruition.

Ya'acov Yona, chairman of a citizens' committee in Katamon, made a forceful speech in which he insisted that the children of the area want no charity, but would pay their

way according to the best of their ability. He then welcomed the centre as a facility likely to transform life for the children in the suburb.

The pick of Jerusalem's young players, who have learned tennis at other courts and in holidays at the Tennis Centre in Ramat Hasharon, then demonstrated how great is their potential, in an impressive display of all-court tennis.

Rubin Josephs announced that the remaining courts, including the centre court, and the main building, should be finished by November. "Jerusalem will then have the most wonderful centre in the country."

Plans for Maccabiah village

By JEFFREY HELLER

TEL AVIV. — Plans are under way to establish a Maccabiah village near Modi'in, the ancient home site of the Maccabees. The village will serve as an educational institution for Jewish youth from Israel and abroad.

"We reached the conclusion that we have to erect a central educational centre that will be the spiritual and cultural centre of Maccabi in Israel," Maccabi World Union head and Ramat Gan Mayor Yisrael Peled said. The institution, which will include dormitories, sports training facilities, and 100-150 housing units for the staff, has been allotted a hilltop site in the former no-man's land, opposite

Moshav Ruth.

The institution will offer short- and long-term courses to Jewish youth from abroad to train them to become community club leaders back home. Israeli Youth Maccabi members will also study at the centre to prepare themselves for emissary duties in the Diaspora.

The government, Peled said, will fund the road, water, and sanitation work outside the site, but World Maccabi will foot the bill for the rest of the on-site costs, helped by a Housing Ministry loan.

Blueprints are being drawn up now, and actual construction will begin as soon as the first \$1 million is raised, within a year, Peled hoped.

Hoopster star in tax dispute

By PAUL KOHN

New faces from the U.S. on the basketball scene next season will include Andy Walker, 26, and Kenny Levanofsky, who will bolster Tel Aviv Hapoel, in their traditional challenge to Maccabi's hegemony. Kurt Nelson, of Santa Clara, and Eitan Aharony, also of California, will probably play for Ramat Gan Hapoel, while Mitch Atwood is expected to join Holon Hapoel.

Haifa Maccabi have set their sights on two players from the U.S. squad which won the Maccabiah gold medal — Willie Sims, 23, and David Blatt, 22.

But it is the goings on in and around Tel Aviv Maccabi, the perennial national and current European champions, which have stolen the limelight. They will have a new look with the departure of Shuky Schwartz, who is going to Tel Aviv Betar, Shmuel Zyman returning to Ramat Gan Maccabi, Jim

Boatwright, last year's captain who has returned to the U.S., and the possible absence of Mickey Berkowitz. But Howard Lasoff has joined the squad from Haifa Hapoel, and Americans Earl Williams and Aulcie Perry will return.

Berkowitz is suing the club for not paying his income tax, as stipulated in his contract, and consequently wants to be released from the contract so as to be free to play elsewhere.

Meanwhile, income tax inspectors last week impounded property belonging to Berkowitz. They were demanding back payments of \$133,000, plus interest and linkage, for the years 1976 to 1980. The player, one of the highest paid on the Israeli basketball scene, was reported to have earned \$330,000 net last year directly for his appearances on the court plus considerably higher sums from business interests.

Anti-Semitism has declined in the U.S.

By LEON HADAR
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

NEW YORK. — Although anti-Semitism remains a serious problem, it has declined significantly in the U.S. in the past two decades, according to a survey just completed by the opinion research firm of Yankelovich, Skelly and White.

At the same time the survey, commissioned by the American Jewish Committee, indicates that there is a substantial increase in the number of non-Jews who believe that Jews are more loyal to Israel than to America and that they hold too much power in the U.S.

The survey found that among non-Jewish respondents who expressed an opinion, 34 per cent could be categorized as anti-Semitic, as against 45 per cent in a similar study conducted in 1964. Anti-Semitic attitudes are most likely to be found among those over 55 years of age, the less educated, and residents of large cities or blacks.

The survey also found that Jews feel non-Jews perceive them much more negatively than they actually do.

Daniel Yankelovich, chairman of the firm and one of the leading public opinion analysts in the U.S., explained that the decline in anti-Semitism was "not primarily a result of changes in the views of individuals, but a result of generational change."

Since 1964, he pointed out, "an older, more anti-Semitic generation has passed on, and has been replaced by a younger, less anti-Semitic one."

Yankelovich also noted that Americans as a nation "have grown increasingly tolerant of a variety of life-styles and beliefs," and "the increasing acceptance of Jews is, in part, a reflection of the more general trend towards increasing acceptance of social pluralism."

The study was prompted by the bombing of the synagogue on the Rue Copernic in Paris last October and a rash of anti-Semitic incidents.

Activist flees from Moscow

NEW YORK (JTA). — Boris Chernobitsky, a prominent Jewish activist of Moscow whose trial on charges of "resisting a representative of authority" is pending, has fled the Soviet capital in defiance of Soviet warnings not to do so, it is reported here by the Greater New York Conference on Soviet Jewry.

The conference termed the flight unprecedented in the contemporary Soviet Jewish movement. It said that according to information it received directly from Moscow, Chernobitsky's flight underground just over a week ago is regarded by Jewish activists in the USSR as an act of resistance intended to underscore his belief that the impending trial would be a travesty of justice.

Chernobitsky first applied to immigrate to Israel in May 1975.

A radio engineer by profession, Chernobitsky has been refused an exit visa, along with his wife Leah (Yalena) and their two young daughters, on grounds of "state secrecy."

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Knesset approves pact for Sinai force

By MOSHE KOHN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The Knesset last week approved the Multinational Force and Observers (MFO) agreement by an overwhelming vote of all the parties, except Tehiya and the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality.

The force is to be stationed in Sinai after the final Israeli withdrawal scheduled for April 1982.

Three coalition MKs abstained, including Moshe Arens (Likud-Herut), chairman of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee, who also opposed the Camp David agreement and the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty; the National Religious Party's Rabbi Haim Druckman, a spiritual mentor of Gush Emunim; and a new Herut MK, David Magen, Kiryat Gat's 36-year-old mayor.

Responding to criticism by speakers from all sections of the House about the "hasty" manner in which the MFO was scheduled for debate, Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir said it had been in Israel's own interest to deal with the matter rapidly. Only eight months remain in which to set up the force and iron out all kinds of problems, he pointed out.

He said that although the law does not require the government to ask the Knesset to ratify agreements of this sort, the government decided to do so because it feels it is vital to have the approval of the country's elected representatives on such an important matter.

He assumes, he said, that after a new government is formed, a full-

scale debate will be scheduled on this issue, as well as on the situation in the north.

Tehiya's Yuval Ne'eman led off the debate saying that the only way to keep the peace in Israel's south is to keep what we still hold of Sinai and to rely on our own ability to enforce peace — not on any foreign forces.

Amnon Linn (Likud-La'am) urged that Israel come to an agreement with the U.S. on all details of the autonomy plan for Judea and Samaria and apply Israeli law to the Golan before completing the withdrawal from Sinai.

Victor Shemtov (Alignment-Mapam) praised the MFO agreement as "positive and vital," but condemned the government's handling of the Lebanese situation, in which it "turned the PLO into a negotiating partner."

Chaim Herzog (Alignment-Labour) pointed to a number of faults in the MFO arrangement, but said that it was nevertheless a good arrangement.

Shulamit Aloni congratulated the Foreign Ministry for having prepared "a superb legal document" — i.e., the MFO text. Mordechai Gur (Alignment-Labour) said the MFO will be of value only if Israel remains militarily strong and politically prudent.

Moshe Dayan (Telem) said Israel must make a "supreme effort" to maintain its political understanding with the U.S., which is the third party to the MFO agreement.

The former foreign minister, who was one of the architects of the peace treaty, said emphatically that the MFO agreement is "an integral



Tehiya's Yuval Ne'eman...another way to keep the peace.

part of the peace treaty deriving its force and validity only from the treaty, remaining in force only as long as the parties to it so desire."

Post Diplomatic Correspondent David Landau writes:

The U.S. has written to Israel and Egypt undertaking to continue its aerial surveillance of the Sinai after Israel's final withdrawal next April.

The pledge came in the form of letters written by the U.S. Embassies in Tel Aviv and Cairo to their respective host governments. This was disclosed by Foreign Minister Shamir when he submitted the MFO proposal to the Knesset for approval.

The U.S. has put its aerial surveillance surveys at the disposal of Israel and Egypt ever since the Interim Agreement of 1975, to help keep the peace and monitor demilitarization in the Sinai Peninsula.

The Israel-Egypt peace treaty of 1979 provided that this would continue through the phases of Israel's withdrawal, ending next April 26. Washington has now agreed to extend the arrangement — and to broaden it so that it encompass "Zone D," the three-kilometre-wide limited-forces zone on Israel's side of the international border.

Shamir also informed the House that all of the (civilian) observers in the MFO will be U.S. citizens. This is not entirely clear from the text of the U.S. commitment, in a letter to the parties from Secretary of State Alexander Haig, to supply "a group of civilian observers to the MFO."

These observers will police the limited-forces zone on the Israeli side of the border.

The U.S. will also provide one of the MFO's three infantry battalions and the MFO's logistics unit. There will be three infantry battalions in all, "totalling not more than 2,000 troops" (annex, paragraph 19) and also "a coastal patrol unit, an aviation element and...signals units."

Fiji, which has 600 men serving in the UN peace-keeping force in Lebanon, last week agreed with U.S. on conditions under which Fijian soldiers would take part in the multi-national force in Sinai.

In a letter from U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig that is part of the MFO "package agreement," the U.S. stresses that the existence of the MFO — and therefore the American commitment to keep it in existence — will extend for as long as either Israel or Egypt wants the force to stay.

Begin defends policy on Lebanon

By ASHER WALLFISH
Post Knesset Reporter

Prime Minister Menachem Begin said last week that Israel would do its utmost to see that the cease-fire in the north lasted.

Briefing the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee, Begin said that the IDF had so far deliberately exercised self-restraint, despite the violations by the terrorists. "We shall not hold our fire indefinitely," he warned. "If the terrorists keep on shooting, we shall not stand idly by."

The prime minister said that air force flights would continue over Lebanon to detect any PLO preparations for offensive action.

He denied that the U.S. had exerted any pressure on Israel to agree to a cease-fire. "Envoy Philip Habib came to Jerusalem with certain proposals. We accepted some of them, and rejected others," he said.

Begin said that reactions in the U.S. to the operations against the PLO caused a "difficult situation at one point." Then there was a shift in Israel's favour, he said.

He said that President Ronald Reagan had given expression to the shift, as had Senator Henry Jackson. "At one point, American Jewry was disturbed, but then they heard our explanations, and they reiterated their support for Israel's actions," Begin said.

In reply to a query by Victor Shemtov (Mapam) as to what Israel had achieved by the operations in Lebanon, the prime minister said: "In the first place, we dealt the PLO some very painful blows. In the second place, the zone controlled by Major Sa'ad Haddad was accorded official recognition for the first time."

Begin said that the shelters along the northern border were in many cases inadequate and intolerably uncomfortable. "I spent 15 minutes down in a shelter and I could not breathe," he admitted. "But who built those shelters, if not the Alignment government?" He said he had already told the cabinet that a large number of new, modern, comfortable shelters had to be constructed, and that he was conferring with Finance Minister Yoram Andor about the necessary funding.

Begin was especially angered by Alignment criticism of the civilian casualties caused by the air raid on Beirut.

He produced a prepared list of 32 military operations carried out by the IDF under Alignment governments, in which civilian casualties were caused. He read out the dates, places, and estimated casualties involved, in about 10 of these operations. He said: "With you, it was systematic. Under the Likud government, there was one exception — Beirut — and it was an exception that proved the rule."

Labour leader, Shimon Peres, reacting to Begin's charges, said there were no grounds to his claim that Alignment governments had ordered systematic retaliation across the border against civilians, whenever civilians here were attacked.

Peres said that under previous governments all possible means were taken to avoid or minimize civilian casualties.

AFTER THE MINI-WAR



People on the streets of Nahariya again — a sure sign that life there has resumed its steady routine after the shelling stopped. (IPPA)

A city returns to normal

By HADASSAH BAT HAIM
Special to The Jerusalem Post

WITH A SIGH of relief, several hundred mothers in Nahariya got their children up early. They washed and dressed them and took them to the day camps that have now reopened.

For more than a week — during the terrorist shelling of this northern seaside city — they have been in and out of the shelters, and in spite of the clowns and singers and instructors provided by the municipality, the hours of waiting and listening have been very hard on residents of all ages.

Suddenly the simple experience of walking down the main street has become a pleasure to be savoured. It was remarkable how quickly we all adapted to living in danger, accomplishing the essential errands with eyes and ears alert for those ominous crumps above us. How quickly we all became experts in estimating the distance of the explosion from our own homes and the centre. How pleasant now to recognize the sonic booms from Israeli Air Force planes — deafening — but as far as we are concerned, safe.

All over town people are dragging mattresses out of the cellars. Underground rooms are being whitewashed and scrubbed, and piles of equipment wait to be tidied up — a set of skittles, half a dozen chess, draught and backgammon boards and a Scrabble set and a dictionary. Televisions have now been lugged back upstairs and returned to their place in the sitting room. In our house, with much puffing

and trapping of fingers, we finally manage to remove the folding cots out of the corridor, knocking chunks of plaster off the walls. The pictures have been hung again, but the windows still stand neatly stacked against the walls. Who needs windows in this weather?

The factories and workshops are working at full capacity again, and repairs, if not finished, are already in hand. Shops are open and the beach is crowded. The telephone lines are gradually unclogging as relatives and friends from "outside" calm down and reduce the pressure.

On the outskirts of town, preparations are almost complete for the day camps, where mothers can gossip and frolic in the pool freed from household chores for a while. Their children are being taken care of elsewhere, out of sight. Maybe not out of mind, but at least out of hearing.

We are, in a modest way, pleased with ourselves and with each other. The town swung into action while the first missiles were still exploding on the beach. The hospital, though damaged by rocket fire, was on full standby with no absentees from duty. Members of the civil guard were everywhere. Together with the police they delivered supplies and comforted those in the shelters. The mayor and municipal workers,

too, were conspicuously visible, reflecting our feeling: pale but always resolute. Shortages were overcome by neighbours sharing whatever they had in their cupboards and fridges. No one went hungry. No one panicked. No one lost his temper.

Now our concern is to bring back the tourists. Not all left. Most stayed for the period they had planned, comparing our damage dismally with that left by the riots in Britain. But those who had not yet arrived mostly stayed away, and now Nahariya is mounting a campaign of reductions and concessions to bring back the visitors.

The cafes are full, nevertheless, mainly with locals: "I deserve this," said one already rather plump citizen who sipped iced coffee with whipped cream and gazed dreamily over the Gaaton River. "I'll go on a diet when I'm ready, not when a gang of hooligans keep me out of the kitchen."

The mood is grim but not gloomy. Somehow we will overcome this crisis. We have been through worse, everyone assures everyone else. Those who moved out with their children have come back. No one has changed his place of residence.

And now, as soon as it is light enough to distinguish sea from sky, the early bathers greet each other once more, conscientiously doing their kilometre up and down the coastline before cycling home. Heads that last week sported helmets glide purposefully through the breakers. Nahariya is herself again.

Departing Austrian envoy's revelation

Jerusalem Post Reporter
TEL AVIV. — Austrian Ambassador Ingo Müssi revealed last week that there has been an open invitation pending for over six years for Israel's foreign minister to come to Austria for an official visit, but Israel — for reasons of its own — has not taken up the invitation. This symbolizes the near total lack of a normally accepted "visits diplomacy" between two friendly countries, such as Israel and Austria, he added.

Dr. Müssi was speaking at a farewell gathering held by the Israel-Austria Society, to mark the

end of his five-year tour of duty here which, he said, was often characterized by serious differences that cannot only be ascribed to personal animosities.

He maintained that occasional criticism of certain aspects of Israel's policy was rooted in Austria's deep concern and friendship for Israel. But he thought it was wrong for the Israel-Austria Society to have suspended its activities on two occasions during the past 10 years in the wake of certain decisions and statements by Austria's Chancellor Bruno Kreisky. On the contrary, it is es-

pecially when ill winds blow that an organization such as the Israel-Austria Society should have made even greater efforts to foster understanding and friendship and not just close its doors for several months.

Ambassador Müssi pointed out, however, that, beyond the lack of sufficient bilateral contacts at the highest political levels, he enjoyed excellent day-to-day political cooperation with the Israeli authorities. He stressed that, despite political differences, bilateral relations had improved, and economic and tourist ties had expanded.

Britain attacks Israel canal plan

LONDON (JTA). — Britain last week launched a surprise attack on Israel's plan to construct a hydroelectric power plant on the shores of the Dead Sea using sea water channelled from the Mediterranean.

Douglas Hurd, minister of state at the Foreign Office, said that "the project as planned is contrary to international law, as it involves unlawful works in occupied territory and infringes Jordan's legal rights in the Dead Sea and neighbouring regions." He added that no official support would be given by the British government for the project.

Hurd's remarks, in reply to Conservative MP Richard Needham, took Israeli circles here by surprise. The Foreign Office had previously expressed no official interest in the canal project and there have been no discussions about it with the Israeli Embassy.

The main criticism of the project so far has come from the Jordanian government, whose motives are believed to be fundamentally political.

Hurd's assurance that Britain would not help Israel will have no immediate effect, because so far Israel has not approached foreign governments or international institutions over the project. Israel is trying to raise the first \$100 million of the billion dollar project in the form of low interest bonds from private investors. About \$50m. of this "seed money" have been raised with the help of the world-wide Israel Bonds organization, \$2m. of which was raised in Britain.



Prime Minister Menachem Begin greets two visiting members of the U.S. House Foreign Affairs Committee, Representatives Tom Lantos (Dem.-Cal.) and Millicent Fenwick (Rep.-N.J.). (Zoom 77)

U.S. envoy in Saudi leaving post

By WOLF BLITZER
WASHINGTON. — Israeli officials and other pro-Israel political observers here were pleased to learn last week that Secretary of State Alexander Haig has dismissed the U.S. ambassador to Saudi Arabia, Robert Neumann. Some U.S. officials have denied however, that Neumann was fired and have given other reasons for his leaving Saudi.

According to well-placed U.S. officials, Neumann was forced to resign after complaining to Congressmen about Haig's continued delay in formally submitting the administration's notification of the proposed sale of AWACS radar aircraft to Saudi Arabia.

Neumann, who was born Jewish in Vienna, and survived the

Buchenwald and Dachau concentration camps, was, ironically, among the most pro-Arab officials appointed to the Reagan administration. He converted to Catholicism as a young man.

The White House and State Department last week formally denied that Neumann had been fired because of policy differences with Haig. They suggested that he quit because of "personal reasons" relating to his wife's health.

But insiders described that as "a cover story," disclosing that Haig was furious when he learned what Neumann reportedly had been saying privately. The U.S. envoy was said to have accused Haig of being too "pro-Israeli" in his orientation. He said that Haig, as a result, was damaging U.S.-Saudi relations.

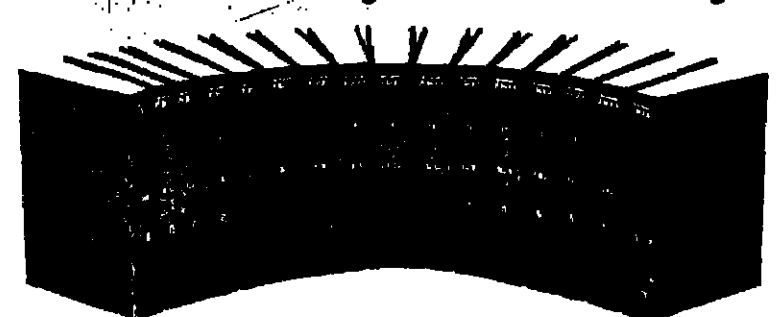
Evron asked to stay on

Jerusalem Post Correspondent
WASHINGTON. — The Israeli Embassy here said last week that both Prime Minister Menachem Begin and Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir had asked Ambassador Ephraim Evron to remain on the job after he completes his three-year tour of duty in December.

Embassy press spokesman Nahman Shai was reacting to a story in an Israeli newspaper that Evron, during his recent consultations with Begin and Shamir in Jerusalem, had offered to wind up his tour of duty in December.

But Shai quoted Begin and Shamir as having told Evron that they foresaw no justification for changing ambassadors in Washington and asked Evron to remain on the job.

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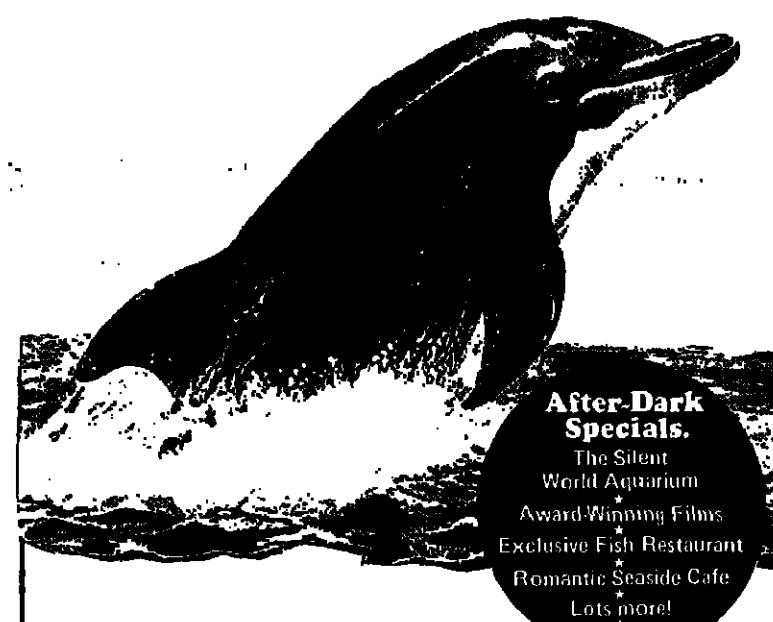
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(Continued on page 11)



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OPINION

Shmuel Katz argues that the U.S. has been pursuing a policy of appeasement towards the Arabs at Israel's expense. He says that as a result of this the U.S. too will be a loser as the Soviet grand design for the Middle East takes shape and the threat to Israel grows. Katz criticizes Prime Minister Begin for crumpling under 'American cajolery' and accepting the cease-fire in the North.

The gathering threat

THE SOVIET UNION has for years been providing direct aid and comfort to the terrorists. Yasser Arafat pays two or three visits to Moscow every year and confers regularly with Soviet Ambassador Soldatov in Beirut. Several times every month, one or another of the terrorist leaders meet with some official personality from the Soviet bloc.

The Soviet Union has long maintained training camps and facilities for PLO members in Eastern Europe, and is the main supplier of PLO arms. Their political relationship is complete.

At the same time the Soviets have been developing ever closer and more intricate relations with Syria and with Libya. They supply Syria's growing arsenal with the most sophisticated weapons (and retain control over their use) — a cozy satellite relationship. Weatherly Libya buys arms from more diverse sources, but her basic armament is Soviet-supplied; and her political affiliation is unambiguously pro-Soviet.

In the last several months it became known even to the careful follower of the media that, parallel with the joint naval exercise carried out by the Soviet Union and Syria in the Eastern Mediterranean, these two countries, together with Libya, had launched a combined operation to supply the PLO with massive quantities of up-to-date heavy arms. The purpose was, no less, to transform the terrorist organization into a regular army.

Its strength, it was estimated, would be 20,000 men, and its dramatic impact would be the creation of an effective war front on Israel's northern border (and an equally effective reinforcement of the threat to the Christians in Lebanon).

Here for the Soviets was opened the practical — and proximate — prospect of a new and highly motivated military force at their disposal in the Middle East — backed, moreover, by a long-established political alliance. A tasty element in this anti-West prospect is its intended contribution to the elimination of Israel as the most significant obstacle to the Soviets' creeping expansion in the Middle East.

When Israel, suddenly awakened to the completely new dimensions of the threat being built up in the north, launched an equally new-dimensioned attack on PLO bases, installations, supply lines and headquarters in order to prevent the consummation of the build-up, the U.S. promptly intervened, and by drastic gestures coerced Israel into stopping the operation and accepting a cease-fire — thus guaranteeing the success of the Soviet purpose, and ensuring that there would be no interference from Israel in the build-up of a PLO army. This, after all, is the political history of the fortnight that culminated on July 24.

WHEN A WORLD statesman commits a blunder or acts stupidly, there are always wisacres at hand to proclaim that "he knows what he

is doing" or "he knows something we don't."

The truth — which our generation has learned time and again from bitter experience — is that what appears to the average intelligence to be a stupid act only too often turns out to have been in fact a stupid act.

The British records of the time have shown that Neville Chamberlain's policy towards Hitler in 1938 was even more fatuous than his critics thought. More recently — and closer to our affairs — Henry Kissinger, the much celebrated statesman, has calmly admitted that his central geostrategic policy — détente — was absurd. The great impetus his policy gave the Soviets can be measured in our own hemisphere by the tremendous expansion of the Soviet presence throughout Africa, in the Persian Gulf area and in the Indian Ocean.

United States policy in Lebanon culminating in the July 24 cease-fire, has been for her, no less than for Israel, a resounding, self-inflicted defeat.

U.S. policy in Lebanon has been self-destructive from the start. It was Washington that backed the invasion of Lebanon in 1975 by the Syrian Army, in the guise of a "peacemaker."

Did the State Department not know that it is Syria's historic national policy to incorporate Lebanon into "Greater Syria"? It was the U.S. (in Kissinger's day) that pressed Israel into acquiescing in this Syrian pretence (against "guarantees" of limitations on the scope of Syrian operations). The U.S. thereafter tried to thwart every Israeli act to aid the Christians and to prevent their subjugation.

To this day, the U.S. treats Major Sa'ad Haddad, fighting on and for his own Lebanese soil, as an out-cast. In short, if the State Department had its way, Syria today would not only control the Lebanese government but would rule supreme over all of Lebanon — with an appropriate role given the PLO.

WASHINGTON DID achieve one cherished purpose in the course of this fortnight's transparently irrational and self-defeating behaviour. It exalted and enhanced the popularity of Saudi Arabia.

By dragging it in as a "mediator," the administration will be able to insist it is a "moderate," and thus improve the chances of congressional approval for selling the sophisticated F-15 equipment and the AWACS planes.

If it succeeds, the Saudis, having collaborated with Washington in ensuring uninterrupted construction of a front against Israel in the north, will have gained a greatly increased capacity in strengthening the front against Israel in the south.

Nobody in Washington can continue to pretend that this is not so. American diplomacy has failed utterly to squeeze from the Saudis a form of words which will justify Washington's claim that these arms

are intended for use against the Soviet Union. The Saudis see no need to lie. They insist that they do not feel threatened by the Soviets. The enemy, they say, is Israel.

THROUGHOUT all these developments administration spokesmen in Washington have taken care to announce from time to time, without batting an eyelid, that Israel is a trusted ally of the United States.

It is no great merit in the Americans that they took advantage of the glaring voids in Israeli policy, of egregious blunders in Israeli conduct and the gaucheries of the Israeli prime minister, to achieve Israel's defeat. In this brief fortnight, all were exposed.

Israel has no information machine relevant — let alone adequate — to her unique requirements. A properly equipped special ministry would have launched an early campaign to draw the attention of world public opinion to the dramatic escalation in the Arab preparations against Israel, and the serious implications for the West in the emergence of a new dynamic Soviet base in the Middle East.

The government's failure to understand that the Lebanon operation might bring on violent reaction is a manifestation of sheer irresponsibility. There was nothing to prevent the building and repair of shelters — which had been neglected for years; nor the quiet preparation of plans for quick evacuation of women and children in case of need.

The reason for this failure is not secret. It has long been obvious that the prime minister does not look beyond one move, and consults nobody on its implications and probable consequences.

No less typical was his abject surrender. The implications of this cease-fire may well be no less serious than those of the cease-fire after the Yom Kippur War — agreed to by the Golda Meir government against its own better judgment. But Begin has always crumpled under American cajolery and pressure, from the mutilation of his own "peace plan" through the Camp David agreement to the sham peace treaty with Egypt.

THE NORTHERN debacle is only one corner of the unfolding picture. The Syrians, with Soviet aid, strengthen their front by adding a new army.

The Saudis, with American aid, intend to reinforce the southern front with the most sophisticated lethal equipment and arms.

Egypt, with American and Israeli aid is about to receive the greatest reinforcement of all: Israel's strategic depth and security belt.

The agreement on the multinational force in Sinai is a fitting final accord to the sham peace treaty.

Egypt will order the force out of Sinai as soon as it decides the time has come to end the "peace" — and the Arab coalition is ready to launch its war on Israel.

OPINION

Clarity begins at home

LET'S FACE it. We were on the verge of war, when Washington intervened vigorously to stop it. How did we get there? Why war? What for?

The government has a duty to explain the situation and the people a right to know. We are a people endowed with an immense curiosity to know and a boundless capacity to understand. Our curiosity, however, is fed with leaked tidbits from the cabinet table and our understanding obscured by torrents of ministerial rhetoric. But with all the abundance of speech and revelations, do we know? We don't. We don't know, because we argue about side-issues and get excited about trivialities. The crucial questions of war and peace, of nuclear survival and of Jewish spiritual and moral existence in this country are carefully excluded from the agenda of the national debate.

What did we discuss in the hot summer preceding the Yom Kippur war? The Egyptian troop concentrations, the Syrian war preparations, the state of the IDF's combat readiness? Not at all. We argued about the terrible threat to the existence of Israel inherent in the implementation of resolution 242 which would lead, as Begin exclaimed at the time, to a new Auschwitz and Treblinka. We objected to the conclusion of a partial agreement with Egypt, because it would dislodge us from our fortified positions along the Suez canal, thought then to be impenetrable. We revelled in a heated debate on the merits of the construction of a deep sea port at Yamit with a prospective population of 250,000. We were fed immaterial detail about the discussions in New York on the composition of an improbable peace conference, while *tête à tête* peace talks took place in Morocco involving the return of the Yamit salient to Egypt.

While the government is responsible for its decisions, it is the people who bear their consequences. What for instance were the objectives of the IDF's strategy in the north? Were they punitive, preemptive or preparatory? Or all the three in one.

Punitive because of recent outrages perpetrated by the terror organizations? For reasons best known to themselves, they had refrained for quite a while from any act of violence, when our air force resumed its activity shortly after the elections.

Were these air strikes meant to be pre-emptive in the light of the steady stream of Soviet weapons flowing from Libya and Syria to the PLO, extending its military build-up?

Or were they preparatory, the opening gambit of a swift and fierce campaign to liberate Lebanon and Israel from the terrorist plague or at least sweep the PLO formations out of rocket range of Israeli territory? Indications for such an eventuality do not lack. In April the Falangists in northern Lebanon opened a southward thrust which resulted in a clash with Syrian forces and their ruthless shelling of Zahle, the downing of two Syrian helicopters by Israeli aircraft and the subsequent introduction of SAM missiles by Syria into Lebanon. A month later Mr. Begin promised that no more Matuyas would fall on Kiryat Shmona. Were these empty words or an indication of things to come?

While the people in the north were bravely resisting the terrorist onslaught, the politicians were taking

Gideon Raphael discusses the recent flare-up in the north and says that "if we want to get out of the present dilemma we must understand how we got into it." He argues that there has been an absence of national dialogue in assessing policy.



Gideon Raphael, left, says that PLO chief "Arafat is jubilant because he reckons that his heavy losses in the field are being amply compensated by impressive gains in the international arena."



Yet had the military planners correctly assessed Israel's political strength? — an indispensable requisite for the attainment of strategic and political ends by military means. Had the members of the government adequately considered the world reaction against an Israeli military initiative at this time and place?

Obviously not. Why should they? To their mind the world is against Israel in any case, whatever we do. Not testing their doctrine by patient restraint, but preferably by forceful action, they convinced themselves of its validity. Whether we believe that the world powers are guided by a selective morality or by inbred antagonism is immaterial. What counts is whether they are prepared to tolerate our actions or are determined to frustrate them. The test of statesmanship lies in the correct assessment of realities and calculation of risks.

As it appears now, the three motivations for the military action in the north converged, with the result that it was excessive in its punitive application, unsuccessful in its pre-emptive effect and dilatory in its preparatory purpose.

The bombing of the terrorists' headquarters in Beirut backfired heavily. The intensive bombardment of the PLO installations inside and outside civilian concentrations resulted in extensive and indiscriminate shelling of our civilian population. The suspicion of the preparation of a major land-based operation, perhaps the only effective military means to stop Arafat's attacks, brought about irresistible American pressure.

The policy of the big bang from Baghdad to Beirut is neither a long nor a short-term answer to Israel's fundamental security concerns. The government is amiss in its military policy, obtuse to international realities and inept in the conduct of its foreign affairs. Never in its thirty three years' history has our country experienced a similar collapse of its position and repute in the world. Our foreign relations have become an international disaster area.

While the people in the north were bravely resisting the terrorist onslaught, the politicians were taking

the peace can sustain without progress on the Palestinian issue, is an open question.

• There are three beneficiaries from the present crisis: the PLO battered, but ardent and self-congratulatory; Syria, anxious, cautious and "noiseless as fear in a wide wilderness," as Keats said; and the Soviet Union enigmatic as always, silently agitating and loudly protesting.

The terrorist organizations having turned a host country of refugees into an armed camp of ruthless terrorists, bear the full responsibility for Lebanon's convulsions and Israel's tribulations. There is no question that it is the primary duty of the Lebanese government to put an end to this state of affairs. However, as matters stand, it is powerless to do so. Syria, which is in a position to curb the PLO, does not budge. Relying on its Soviet shield, it strengthens its positions in Lebanon, supplies the PLO with arms and protects its flanks. A precarious, but not intolerable position, as long as Israel refrains from taking direct action against Syria.

The Soviet Union, thriving on turmoil, as long as its scope remains controllable, presumably expects that in the best of circumstances the U.S. will invite its cooperation in restoration of an uneasy peace or, if it comes to the worst, Moscow will have to back Syria to the hilt, if it gets involved in war with Israel. Consequently, in the wake of the present events, the Soviet Union, until now skilfully kept at bay, is likely to again play an active role in the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The PLO is fully aware, of course, that it lacks the strength to eliminate Israel. But it employs with as much brutality as agility its limited military means to attain its far-reaching political ends. Israel entering into a massive confrontation with the PLO without being in a position to rout it decisively because of foreign political intervention, has enhanced the PLO's international standing and involuntarily helped it advance from terrorist notoriety to political respectability. Arafat is jubilant because he reckons that his heavy losses in the field are being amply compensated by impressive gains in the international arena.

This then is the interim balance sheet. It shows a sorry state of affairs. All sides would do well to pause and take stock. We, on our part, should not lose a moment to review thoroughly the military and political strategy employed in our fight against the terrorist organizations, reinforce our settlements in the north against renewed assault, and seek to commit Syria to keep the PLO in check. We must quickly mend our fences with the U.S. and shore up our relations with Egypt. We must substitute rational dialogue for senseless recriminations in our exchanges with foreign governments and realize that no complicated military or political problem will yield to the big bang. And finally we ought to conduct an open and civilized debate on the vital issues facing the nation. Clarity begins at home.

The author, a former director-general of the Foreign Ministry, is author of the recently published book "Diplomatic Recollections: Destination Peace."

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ISRAEL'S dual aims along the northern border must be to prevent any infiltration by terrorists, whether by land, sea or air, and to stop any terrorist war of attrition against Israel's centres of population along that border, former premier Yitzhak Rabin said last week.

In an exclusive interview with *The Jerusalem Post* Rabin also said that all Israelis, irrespective of party affiliation, must oppose the unprecedented American step of breaking its sealed contract of military supplies to Israel, which might be an ominous sign of things to come from Washington.

Having heard the explanations offered of recent actions by such spokesmen as Premier and Defence Minister Menachem Begin and Chief of Staff Raphael Eitan, Rabin still doesn't know what their aim had been. True, Eitan had spoken of seeking to destroy the terrorist infrastructure in Lebanon, yet the outcome of the massive bombing of terrorist strongholds, followed by the PLO's war of attrition against the northern towns and villages, had indicated that that aim had not been achieved. Moreover, Rabin added, this was underlined by Israel's acceptance of a *de facto* cease-fire.

Expanding on his theme of the dual targets of Israeli policy, Rabin said that the Israel Defence Forces had stopped terrorist infiltration, which in effect came to a halt after the atrocity at Misgav Am one and a half years ago. As to the second aim, Rabin said firmly that should the PLO renew its bombardment of the Galilee with the aim of disrupting civilian life there, then Israel should have no compunction about taking all the necessary measures to put an end to it, including massive military retaliation to distance the terrorists from the border. Air power alone would not be enough.

The problem in Lebanon is that it has no effective government and that the PLO has established a state within a state beyond Israel's northern frontier, from which it seeks to attack us. Infiltration was largely halted by such measures as the Litani campaign, the buttressing of the southern Lebanese zone under Major Sa'ad Haddad's com-

mand, the presence of UNIFIL, and the improvement of various technical preventive measures by the IDF.

Asked whether this was part of a grand Soviet design, Rabin said he doubted it — the Soviets were probably responding to PLO requests for arms.

LABOUR's shadow defence minister said that even before the latest PLO arms build-up, the central question facing Israel had been the crystallizing of policy targets: what was attainable and what should be prevented at any price. To his mind, the Palestinian problem cannot be solved by military means but only by political measures. This objective should be pursued on the premise set out at Camp David, through the autonomy negotiations. Contrary to what Reuters had interpreted in a recent interview with him, he had never advocated that the PLO could be regarded as a negotiating partner.

THE FORMER premier said it was known that the cease-fire was achieved through the good offices of the United States. Israel has to make it quite clear that if the PLO does not commit acts of hostility,

A reply to terror

Yitzhak Rabin, the Alignment's shadow defence minister and former prime minister, proposes a policy for meeting any threat from the PLO in Lebanon. He also expresses serious concern at the turn in U.S.-Israel relations.



Yitzhak Rabin

for its part Israel will take no military initiatives, even if a new PLO build-up is discerned. It should also be made clear to the world that, if the PLO plans to launch a war of attrition, then Israel will demonstrate by forbearance and patience who the guilty party is and in due course launch massive retaliation. "The world has to be told that this is Israel's position in good time, so that there won't be any misunderstandings on this score. Our aim must not be Beirut but to prevent terrorist infiltration and a war of attrition," he declared.

Rabin sought to distinguish between negotiating a cease-fire and formally recognizing the PLO as a partner to a political solution. "After all," he argued, "when a gang of hoodlums take over a bank and hold hostages in the course of their hold-up, any police force in the world would enter into negotiations with them to rescue the hostages — but that does not imply they accord legitimacy to the criminals and their crime."

ASSESSING the escalation from the other side since April, Rabin

had gained the impression that Syria, using the PLO with total Soviet backing, had been endeavouring to create a focus of tension aimed at derailing the peace process started at Camp David, and boosting the Soviet proposal to hold an international conference attended by the two superpowers, the parties to the conflict, and the PLO. He also discerned a Soviet design to draw in such moderate Arab states as Jordan and Saudi Arabia — this would bring the Reagan administration to have second thoughts on its policy premises for the Middle East, especially as it was known that Washington had yet to crystallize its policies on the continuation of the peace process.

"When considering the Lebanese situation we must not only see its local context but also never forget the ramifications and repercussions on the overall framework of international policy-making," Rabin declared. Once a new government gets going in Jerusalem it will have to face the problem also facing Washington and Cairo: how to keep the peace process going? The continued freeze of the process might well endanger its very survival, he fears. It is within this context that Israel is entering a most uncomfortable situation with the new American government against the background of what had happened of late in Lebanon.

The most worrying expression of this development was the decision to suspend delivery of the F-16s. Rabin compared this ominous shift in U.S. policy with what happened under his premiership when the Ford administration embarked on its "reassessment." He recalled that at that time, despite disagreements between Washington and Jerusalem, the administration did not default on even one item in its

sealed contracts — the discussion was on suspension of future supplies. "In the six months of the reassessment there was a constant and massive flow of U.S. arms to Israel, while today there is an open breach of signed and sealed contracts," he noted gravely.

He stressed that all Israelis, irrespective of party affiliation, must close ranks in opposing the American step. "It's a serious precedent because the U.S. took it as its right not to keep a written agreement because of Israeli conduct it regarded as amiss. And who can say that such a move will stop at arms supplies in future?" he wondered, arguing that if an American government can act that way towards Israel, then "we are entering a period of uncertainty in relations between the two countries."

Israeli policy-makers must always bear in mind American public opinion and the U.S. Congress, which are most important elements in the complex of policy making. Here Rabin added significantly, "The Beirut bombing served no purpose and the policy consideration did not prove itself."

When I mentioned Likud spokesmen's charges that local criticism of the Beirut bombing "was quasi-treason," Rabin flushed and replied: "After a lifetime serving my country I don't have to prove my patriotism. This is a democracy. The argument is not over whether we had to fight but how to conduct the battle. Under such circumstances, if a citizen feels that the measures taken missed the target, it is his duty to speak out."

I wondered whether the American reaction was due to their having higher expectations from Israel than from its neighbours. Speaking as a close observer of the U.S. scene during his term at the embassy in Washington from 1968 to 1973, Rabin said: "It is true that the Americans have double standards for us and the Arabs and especially the PLO. Otherwise there would not be a sense of shared values and common standards. The Americans expect Israel to behave like other Western democracies, and that provides the premise for their continued support of Israel."

ly, refrained from attacking those headquarters because of the surrounding civilian population.

Correctly? What doctrine of the "heights of the Jewish heritage" or accepted practice is it which presumably grants permanent sanctuary to the brain and operations centre of an organization which is out to destroy and annihilate us, because it has set itself up in the midst of a civilian population?

These civilians were aware of their presence. It was their obvious duty — or that of the authorities, as was done in England during World War II — to evacuate them in order to obviate their involvement.

No, the voice of the rabbi is not muted. And that voice, which acts as a "moral guide," says, to quote a halachic, not a midrashic statement: "Him who comes to slay thee, anticipate and slay him." And if in the course of that halachically justified pre-emptive strike innocent civilians are killed, though we are very, very far from exulting in their deaths, it is fully justified and the blame lies on those who placed those civilians in that vulnerable situation by setting up their headquarters in their midst, or by taking no steps to remove them from a legitimate target.

THERE IS an eerie silence in Washington these days. Israel, and especially Prime Minister Menachem Begin, is coming under unusually sharp attack from all sorts of quarters, yet the once almost-automatic counter chorus of support has been rather quiet.

"It's not easy to support Israel nowadays," one of the Jewish state's most active political supporters lamented, echoing what has become a familiar theme since word of the extensive civilian casualties in Beirut reached Washington. "Begin is making it very difficult for us."

"Had this particular neighbourhood [in Beirut which was bombed by Israel] been housing Katyusha rockets or, to make the case more extreme, a nuclear weapon aimed at Israel, then the moral calculus would be different," editorialized *The New Republic*, traditionally supportive of Israel. "But this was not the case."

It warned: "Begin's actions are a threat both to the moral fibre of Israel and to the support Israel still enjoys in the West among those who have not wearied of its cause or sold out to Arab oil. That means, for all practical purposes, the United States... If Begin persists in this myopic Masada strategy, he may yet provoke Reagan into even more serious sanctions against Israel."

On Capitol Hill, where support for Israel has always been vocal and intense, there was virtually no defence heard of the Beirut raid. Reagan administration officials were stunned by the silence. Israel was being criticized and its friends were not coming to its defence. That was really a first.

Even most of the Jewish members of the Senate and House of Representatives were privately outraged by the latest developments, although they, too, tried to keep silent in public. Israeli Ambassador Ephraim Evron, who had been in Jerusalem for consultations during the Beirut attack, returned to Washington to find his best friends furious.

Thus, three Jewish senators, Democrats Carl Levin of Michigan and Howard Metzenbaum of Ohio, and Republican Rudy Boschwitz of Minnesota, asked for an emergency meeting with Evron to complain about the civilian deaths. They asked him to convey their concern directly to Begin.

REALLY TERRIBLE things are being said these days about Begin in Washington. Critical statements have been heard here about Begin since he took office in 1977. But the charges hurled against him today are more vicious, more angry than ever before — and not merely from the same, worn-out anti-Israel voices of the past.

Americans of all stripes simply have a hard time understanding the Israeli decision to drop bombs on civilian centres in west Beirut — even if the immediate targets were Palestinian terrorist headquarters deliberately located in their midst.

The generally accepted figures in the U.S. media — especially on the nightly television network news programmes which have graphically brought the carnage into the living rooms of millions of Americans — have been about 300 people killed, another 800 or so wounded. Whether these figures are inflated is unimportant. That's the perception in America, and the perception has become the reality.

The film footage of babies, women, children and old people torn up by the bomb fragments has been grizzly. "Destroying an Iraqi

The Beirut fallout



"Really terrible things are being said these days about Begin in Washington... The charges hurled against him today are more vicious, more angry than ever before."

By WOLF BLITZER

atomic bomb factory is one thing," commented *The New Republic*. "Bombing PLO headquarters in a crowded residential neighbourhood is another... the raid was morally indefensible."

OF COURSE, there have also been detailed reports of the Israeli casualties in the north. In America, people can understand an eye for an eye — but a ratio of 300 to six is too much for them to accept.

"We can now understand how Begin gave the order to the Irgun to blow up the King David Hotel," one Jewish political activist in Congress, earlier a loyal Begin defender, said. "He knew there would be innocent civilian casualties then, and he knew the same thing last week."

That may be unfair to the Israeli leader but it is typical of the reaction to the Beirut bombing. It's important for the prime minister to be aware of this response.

New York Times columnist James Reston, never one of Israel's great friends but also never an enemy, actually compared the terrorism of Begin and the PLO. "He [Begin] began as a terrorist to establish Israel's independence, and, provoked by the terror of the PLO guerrillas, is using the arts of terror to maintain it."

Of especially great concern to experienced Israeli diplomats in Washington and their political supporters is the fact that Reston often reflects the views of senior White House officials. In this particular case, according to insiders, Reston's language was actually mild compared to the reaction of others in the administration.

PRESIDENT Ronald Reagan, Secretary of State Alexander Haig,

Reagan had thought, she said, that his favourable remarks about Israel "would produce an ally that was both responsive and responsible. Israel and the U.S. would put aside their minor differences and enter on a new strategic cooperation to curb the spread of Soviet influence in the Middle East."

But, she concluded, "Mr. Begin has recklessly pursued his own goals — wiping out a nuclear reactor in Iraq and demolishing the PLO in Lebanon. The first he achieved with surgical precision. The second he botched, killing hundreds of innocent civilians in the process. Both he did without consulting the U.S. or without any apparent regard for the predictable havoc he wreaked on Mr. Reagan's Mideast goal: strengthening U.S. cooperation with Israel and with key Arab states to check Moscow."

LOU CANNON, now the chief White House correspondent of *The Washington Post* who earlier had befriended Reagan and his top advisers when he covered California for the newspaper, said that the president was "truly troubled" by Begin. Both Reagan and Haig, he added, were "in anguish" because of the bombing of Beirut. He quoted one top administration official as saying that American public opinion is "swinging sharply against Israel because of its recent military actions." That should make the U.S. punishment of and pressure against Israel all the easier.

That Israel's cause was losing support was confirmed the other day by a poll in *Newsweek* which showed dramatic gains for the Arab side of the equation. It is too early to say whether this trend is reversible.

Some experienced political observers believe that the only long-term remedy for Israel is Begin's ouster from office, and his replacement by someone with a better "public relations image." But that does not seem likely in the near future.

There is another price Israel will have to pay for its recent actions against the PLO. All the attention in the Middle East has once again been focused on the Palestinian dimensions of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The administration's earlier efforts to put these issues on the diplomatic back-burner have been scrapped. Public pressure is mounting on Reagan to respond.

The PLO, while militarily bruised, has emerged politically strengthened. Israel's moral advantage over Yasser Arafat has been blurred. Important public-opinion moulders are now calling for the inclusion of the PLO in the peace process, even before it recognizes Israel's right to exist.

The Washington Star, which supported Israel in the past and even defended the Iraqi reactor attack, has now called on Begin to come to terms with the Palestinian question in the wake of the cease-fire. The newspaper blames Begin for the recent upsurge in political support for the PLO. "For Israel the unavoidable issue, apparent to almost everyone except Prime Minister Begin and the ultras who dream of annexing the West Bank, is whether and where there is to be a Palestinian 'homeland,' and on what terms. This prospect Begin is bent on resisting."

The editorial concludes with a thought earlier raised by *The New York Times*. *The Washington Post* and other major dailies. "The question is whether Mr. Begin will truly ponder his options, or try to hold Palestinian aspirations at bay with military force amid a continuing attrition of Israel's strength and standing in the world. It can be done, at least as long as the U.S. will go along. But the price is mounting for Israel and her friends alike."

Moreover, Israel's information campaign has been weak. So far, it does not seem to have made much of a dent. The original justifications coming from Jerusalem, including the detailed military briefings to foreign reporters, actually appeared to make a bad situation even worse. Thus, Israeli officials admitted that they knew their bombs would kill innocent non-combatants, but decided to drop them anyhow. In the current climate of thinking here, that was very damaging to Israel.

Obviously, the sharp reaction within Israel itself has further hurt

Morality and self-defence

The Israeli raid on Beirut was fully fustified, writes Rabbi Louis I. Rabinowitz in this Viewpoint.



L.I. Rabinowitz

necessity. It is a matter of ease to find, with the remarkable freedom of thought and expression which is one of the glories of rabbinic literature, statements to support any point of view. What would Goell say if I were — forfend the thought — to exult in the death of these civilians by quoting, not from the Midrash, but from our daily prayers, which is surely "the height of Jewish heritage?" I could point out to him that daily we say, in the liturgical passage following the recitation of the Shema, "All their firstborn Thou didst slay... but Thou madest Thy beloved to pass through, while the waters covered their adversaries, not one of whom was left. Wherefore Thy beloved praised and extolled God and offered hymns, songs, praises, blessings and thanksgiving to the King and God who liveth for and endureth."

The answer is, of course, that it was the destruction of an army of "six hundred chariots and all the

sportsmen at Munich, passengers in planes, worshippers in synagogue... We, on the other hand, have confined our attacks, wholly and solely, to military targets. And I ask Goell, what were we supposed to do when their headquarters, the very nerve-centre of these murderous attacks, were situated in the midst of a civilian population? Leave them completely unharmed to continue to plan their murders?

And incredible though it may seem, he actually does suggest this — and that, presumably, as part of the noble "Jewish heritage." He states, "The PLO headquarters have been in the same location for the better part of a decade, during which the PLO has loosed its reign of terror over Lebanon and sought to use the territory of that hapless country as a springboard for attacks against Israel. Other targets were consistently attacked by Israel during this entire period. But previous governments, including Mr. Begin's for four years, correct-

ly, refrained from attacking those headquarters because of the surrounding civilian population."

Teddy Preuss questions claims being made in West Germany about the sums paid in reparations to Nazi victims.

AS OPPOSED to the figure of Six Million, the Germans have recently been waving about the figure of 70 billion — which represents the amount in deutschmarks that have been paid to Nazi victims now living in Israel.

Indeed, the editor of *Der Spiegel* recently counselled his countrymen not to extend their hand if they didn't want to, a reference to the German "charity" that goes to Israel.

At first glance, the sum of 70 billion deutschmarks, which has been appearing with increasing frequency in the German media, appears exaggerated. And given the frequency of the reference, one cannot avoid the suspicion that the Bonn government is doing its best to encourage the press to memorialize the 70 billion. In fact, even in Germany, other figures are cited as the total amount that Germany has transferred to Israel: Some say DM20b.; others DM30b.

The discrepancy in the figures is the result not only of a desire to distort the facts, but also the result of difficulties in computing the sum of all reparations agreements concluded over the years. Among other things, the constantly varying rates of exchange have confused the issue — particularly since the late '60s, when floating rates went into effect.

In 1952, when the reparations agreement was signed in Luxembourg, the mark was worth only 24 U.S. cents; by the end of the last decade, it was worth 57 cents. Since international bookkeeping is usually done in dollars, the sums have been distorted because of the changing standard (in this case, the dollar).

ACCORDING TO the 1952 Luxembourg agreement, Germany had to pay Israel DM3b. in reparations, with another DM450m. to be transferred to the world Jewish claims committee. That sum was equivalent to \$821m. at the time. (In the autumn of 1980, the figure was equal to \$2.3b., and today it equals \$1.45b. — which shows how flexible such computations can be.)

In addition to reparations, Germany has put DM140m. in credit at the disposal of Israel each year since 1961. This credit was agreed upon at a meeting between former Chancellor Konrad Adenauer and Ben-Gurion at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York. When Adenauer asked if there was anything else he could do, Ben-Gurion suggested that Germany give Israel special credit for the development of the Negev, and Adenauer agreed on the spot. Since then, Germany has lent — not granted — about DM2.8b. to Israel for specific projects agreed upon in advance by both governments.

These sums are loans, but since they are long-term (for between 12 and 20 years, depending on the project) and at low interest (at first up to 3 per cent; now up to 8), there is a clear element of aid in the agreement.

More difficult to compute and estimate are the individual compensation agreements with residents of Israel. According to figures from the Bank of Israel (see table), more than \$5b. were transferred under this clause between 1953 and the end of 1980. Any attempt to

Those German billions?



David Ben-Gurion and Konrad Adenauer... agreement on credit in the '60s.

(S. Tal)

translate this sum into marks is made extremely difficult by the varying rates of exchange and computations regarding the size of the transfer; the payments have tended to increase in size over the years. This is because of the constant increase in the size of social benefit payments within the Federal Republic, which also affects former residents of Germany who are now in Israel.

Though the payments have risen, the value of the dollar has dropped, so that \$100m. in 1960, for instance, had a greater value in marks than \$250m. in 1980. In computing the various components to translate individual compensation into marks, the rate of exchange used here is 2.8 marks to the dollar (which is still a bit high, in favour of the German computation). According to these figures, the Federal Republic has given eligible Israelis individual compensation of about DM15b. With the addition of DM3.45b. for reparations and DM2.8b. in credit (which must be returned), the total Israel has received is DM21.25b. — giving the Germans benefit of the doubt in the computation.

NEEDLESS to say, this is a huge sum, but it is not even a third of the DM70b. the German press has been writing about so much. One unknown is the amount of money Israelis have deposited abroad. But since most of the recipients needed the pensions for current expenses, there is no doubt that the overwhelming bulk of the money is now in Israeli banks.

Let us drop the matter of the moral obligation of a murderer to his victim, which the prime minister so loves to haggle over. We will stick to the analysis of "profitability" — and even then find that the assertion that "no people has ever been compensated" as the Jews have been is not only hypocritical, but also has been refuted. (For instance, what about the Communist bloc which swal-

lowed up territory east of the Oder-Neisse line and another 100,000 square kilometres which are now East Germany? Doesn't their value exceed the imaginary DM70b.?)

It is refuted also arithmetically: If the Jews had not been expelled, the German authorities would have had to pay sums which exceed the actual compensation by far. Most of those DM21.25b., or DM70b. for the sake of this discussion, would have gone into the pockets of Jewish residents of Germany in the form of pensions and other social benefits Germans are entitled to by law; only because they are Jewish are these "Germans" receiving their payments in Israel and not in Germany.

More than that: the social benefits are paid only to those who have been expelled — not to their descendants. If the parents had continued to live in Germany, the Federal Republic would have paid benefits, pensions, tuition fees and health care fees to their children as well. But since the parents were forced to leave Germany, the authorities are exempt from payments to their children — this writer for one. My father was entitled to a pension from Germany in his old age — but not my mother, my brother or myself. If we had not left Germany for one reason or another, and miraculously been saved, the future generations of the Preuss family would also be registered for benefits. How much have the Germans saved under this category of expenses alone? Not to speak of whole families that were murdered and remained without heirs. Some of them and their property are included in the DM3.45b. that Israel received under the 1952 agreement, but it is doubtful whether that sum accounts for all the damage the Nazis inflicted on the Jews.

If the accounting is done in Germany, it will be clear that the Holocaust was not only a campaign of unprecedented "humanity," but that it was also a most profitable

financial undertaking. If not for the Holocaust, Germany would be paying the Jews even more — not to speak of the property which belonged to those who lived in regions now part of East Germany and who received not a penny of compensation.

There's more: Some of the money transferred each year to Israel is accounted for by social benefits which were purchased at full price. In 1975, the German authorities allowed natives of Germany — not only in Israel — to acquire pension rights for cash payments. The Israel Treasury obliged by budgeting the necessary sums in marks (this was before foreign currency control was abolished) so that those who were entitled could buy the rights. Tens of thousands of residents got their pensions this way. The sums are also included in "personal compensation" although they are not compensation, but ordinary financial transactions.

Though there may have been some deviations here or there, it is clear that the DM70b. supposedly paid to the victims of Nazi persecution simply do not exist. It is true that linking financial calculations to moral considerations is not exactly pleasant. But considering the campaign under way in Germany today, there is no need for us to hold our tongues.

Individual compensation (in millions of dollars) transferred to residents of Israel			
Year	Total	Year	Total
1953	3	1967	123
1954	6	1968	143
1955	18	1969	138
1956	25	1970	204
1957	45	1971	226
1958	68	1972	291
1959	70	1973	264
1960	97	1974	317
1961	110	1975	359
1962	134	1976	313
1963	139	1977	350
1964	134	1978	406
1965	113	1979	439
1966	110	1980	467
			5,111

(By arrangement with Davar.)

A courageous Danish friend

ONE OF Israel's truest and most courageous friends died in Denmark last month. Jens Lillelund was chairman of the League for Tolerance, but beyond this, he went into action wherever and whenever Jews were in trouble.

When the few Jews remaining in Iraq faced persecution and imprisonment, he tried to go to Iraq, but was refused a visa. He tried several times to go to Moscow on behalf of Russian Jews, and he repeatedly spoke to the Russian ambassador in Copenhagen on behalf of *Refusedniks*. He successfully led the fight to name one of Copenhagen's biggest squares "Israel Plads."

His fighting spirit expressed itself when he became one of the founding members of the Danish Resistance group named after the legendary Danish hero Holger Danske. He participated in 1943 in one of the first major sabotage acts, the bombing of the Forum Building in Copenhagen. Later Lillelund miraculously escaped from a Gestapo arrest, fled to the safety of Sweden and made his way to England, where he helped to prepare the invasion of Denmark. He landed in Copenhagen two days after the German surrender.

Jens instinctively knew what was right and what was wrong. During the Biafra war he, without much ado, made his home available to Biafra wounded. As soon as the Yom Kippur War was over, he arrived in Israel with a group of Danish Resistance veterans. His attachment to Israel and his loyalty to the Jewish people were deeply rooted in his sense of justice and freedom. When he was 75, it was as natural to him as it was to his many friends in Israel that he came here with his family to celebrate his birthday.

One found it difficult to believe that such an unusually active man could be so modest. Denmark has lost one of her valiant freedom fighters, and Israel a staunch friend.

ESTHER HERLITZ

A bond in sculpture

LONDON. — Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher recently came to the town hall of Barnet, the London suburb, to unveil a statue symbolizing the friendship between Barnet and the Israeli city of Ramat Gan.

The Borough of Barnet has a large Jewish population. In its boundaries is the constituency of Finchley, which Mrs. Thatcher represents in the House of Commons. In fact, Mrs. Thatcher is still the nominal president of the Anglo-Israel Friendship League of Finchley.

Mr. Thatcher studiously avoided making any political remarks concerning British-Israeli relations, limiting herself to expressing her "pleasure and pride" at being given the opportunity to unveil the statue, executed by Ramat Gan sculptor Yitzhak Ofer, who attended the ceremony.

Called "The Family of Man," the two-metre-high bronze statue is an exact replica of the one erected in Ramat Gan a year ago.

Also attending the ceremony were Ramat Gan mayor Israel Peled and Israeli Ambassador Shlomo Argov.

TOURISM

The lure of the Galilee

By HELGA DUDMAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

A BOTTLE OF champagne (local) was broken over the gleaming prow of one of two new air-conditioned excursion boats acquired by the Kinneret Sailing Company; 33 new "mobile homes" were getting the finishing touches at their lakeside site just north of Kibbutz Ein Gev, bringing the total of these facilities, each sleeping four-plus, to 83. And the expanded fish restaurant, now seating 600, was opened to a press tour.

These three branches of the kibbutz' tourism industry, which now accounts for about half of its income, have been increased to cope with the augmented flow of tourists to Galilee. This is expected for this season, largely as a result of the closedown of much of Sinai as a tourist attraction. Forty kibbutz members now work year-round in Ein Gev's tourism branch, and up to 80 in the high season.

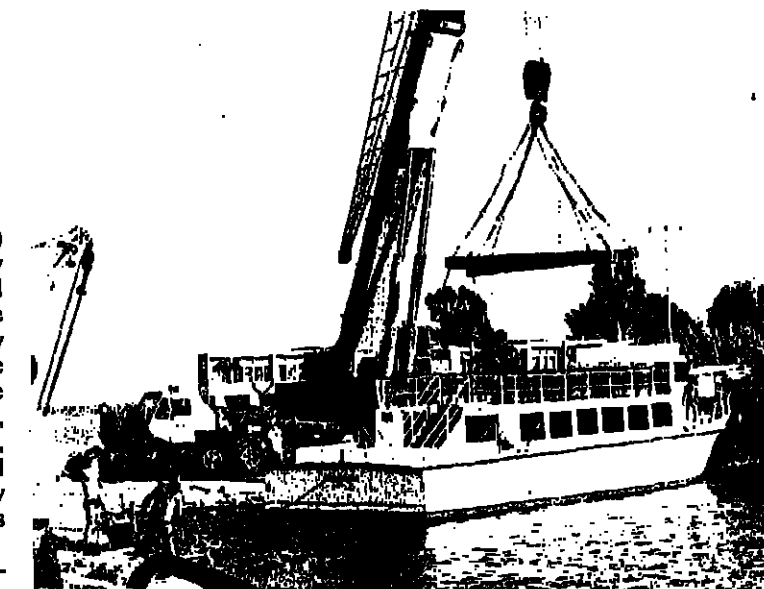
"It is true that a few years ago our young people tended to be reluctant to work in this service branch," one of the kibbutz managers explained. "Today, however, we have no trouble at all in this regard."

Much of Ein Gev's tourist income is in hard currency, since foreign visitors account for a substantial number of its guests. Of the 300,000 passengers carried annually by its fleet of eight excursion boats (counting the two new ones, which were made to order in Holland), some 80 per cent are Christian pilgrims, and their tours run from Tiberias to Capernaum. The sailing company also provides steady employment to 24 wage-earners from Tiberias.

The famous fish restaurant expects 100,000 visitors this season, of whom about half are from abroad. An estimated total of some 150,000 fish meals will be served.

The Holiday Village, situated at what must be one of the world's most pleasant, historically fascinating, and climatically benign sites, is open all year round.

Weather control is now used to a degree that seems to this reporter



The new Dutch-made excursion boat Magdala is testing the waters of the Kinneret after a big crane lowered it into the lake from its giant transporter truck.

excessive, though this is of course an expensive attempt to please the guests. Thus, the immaculate newly expanded restaurant is air-conditioned to a glacial temperature, in violent contrast to the sun outside, which is what the dollar-paying guest has come in quest of. Similarly, the pride of the two newly acquired boats is their airconditioned lower deck.

The handsome new ships have movable benches on the top deck which can swing aside to permit dancing on evening cruises.

Holiday facilities at the "Village," which accounted for 80,000 tourists last year (20 per cent of these, foreign tourists) are sold abroad through travel agents and camping societies. Guests have a range of sleeping choices, which start at bringing-your-own-tents and go up to the latest in mobile homes, with kitchen facilities, private showers, and of course airconditioners.

Ein Gev's camping project started in 1964, with campers roughing it in tents. Twenty compact mobile-home "bungalows" were brought from Holland in 1971, and 30 more subsequently from England. The newest group were made in Israel by Tromasbest, to specifications for Galilee conditions.

While hardly spacious, they can sleep four in reasonable comfort

(the dining-nook, for instance, opens up into a double bed) and children, if thin, can be accommodated elsewhere. The price for one night, based on an occupancy of four, is about \$7.00. The Village is nearly fully booked through the holidays, but inquiries are still being accepted.

The "camping atmosphere" is preserved at the site, but with such modern conveniences as a mini-supermarket. The beach is one of the country's nicest, with a well-cared-for lawn going right down to the water — at least in high water-level years such as this one.

One of the reasons for the popularity of Ein Gev's tourism project is the human warmth of the enterprise. All foreign groups are given a tour of the kibbutz, with explanations available not only in English, German, and French, but also in Italian, Spanish, Swedish, Danish, and Norwegian.

Another bright spot is the unusually good relationship between the Ein Gev members and the men from Tiberias, who work in the tourism project, including the boat crews and the lifeguards. The lifeguards are proud of the excellent conditions at the beach, and the long-standing personal relationships with their kibbutz employers. "Ours is the best beach in the country," they say.

EATING OUT

The last rose of summer

IT IS QUITE pleasant to receive an invitation from one of the more costly eating places, especially when it comes with an assurance that I may remain incognito until the end of the meal. Just such an invitation was extended to me by Michel Kienzi, the maître d'hôtel of Le Versailles, whose splendours are hidden away in 37 Rehov Geula, near Mograbi Square in Tel Aviv.

The dining area has a neo-baroque flavour with midnight-blue walls and ceiling and dim lighting, barely illuminating the dozens of pictures hung in every available space. A feeling that we had wandered into a French colony was reinforced by the menu, in French, and by the waitress, who took our order in heavily accented Hebrew. Nor did we fail to notice the crystal glassware, the silver tableware and the lace tablecloths. Ours had a small hole near my place, a result, no doubt, of an inconsiderate diner with a cigarette.

I opened my meal with cold shrimp with six mayonnaises. Three large crustaceans were presented with a tray on which sat six small sauce boats, each with a little spoon. The offerings that particularly appealed to me were the sioli, a garlic mayonnaise, and another flavoured with curry. But, with all due respect for elegance, I would have been happier had there been six shrimp and only three kinds of mayonnaise.

My companion's terrine, on the other hand, was a most generous slab of liver pâté, but in all other respects, it was undistinguished. True, the menu had not indicated *pâté de foie gras*, and we had not expected it, but it would have been pleasant to try something with a little more character than the grey, mashed, overcooked chicken livers that appeared before us.

AS A RULE, I never drink rosé wine, judging it the most uninteresting of vintages, but rules are made to be broken, and we found the Monfort Grenache rosé we ordered, considered by some to be among the best Israel has to offer, a fine thing to sip on a summer evening.

Also helping in our digestion was a pianist, operating from an upright piano near the bar. We were the only patrons in the house when the pianist began to play, and we were engulfed by a wonderful luxurious feeling of having everyone — chef, waitresses and pianist — performing for our benefit alone.

Adding to the performance was my main course, *ragons monsieur*, a dish in which the kidneys were lightly cooked and then flambéed in brandy at the table, with the waitress preparing the cream sauce with mustard. The kidneys were delicious, delicate tasting and not overcooked. With them were the tiniest balls of fried potato.

The attention paid to my dish seemed to take a toll on the veal cordon bleu that my companion ordered. The veal stuffed with cheese and smoked meat was served with a border of mashed potatoes, and evidently the dish was kept in the oven perhaps until the kidneys I ordered were ready. The veal seemed overcooked and less tender as a result, its sauce had become congealed and crusty, a pity for it was a lovely tarragon preparation.

EVEN BEFORE the main course arrived, I began thinking about the dessert. The menu listed quite a number of soufflés. I refrained from ordering one as a first course both because I did not care to wait for a soufflé, and because those offered were what I believed I could make just as nicely at home.

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different from all
other chickens?

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PERHAPS THE most illuminating example in this book of the skilful and effective conduct of foreign policy is the handling of the "Black September" crisis in 1970. Readers may remember that the PLO hijacked five international aircraft, and that three of them — of British, Swiss and West German ownership respectively — were forced to land at an abandoned airstrip near Zerka, in Jordan. Three hundred hostages were threatened with death unless Israel set free some 200 security detainees, and the countries to which the three planes belonged released all the Arab terrorists they held.

Gideon Rafael, who was director-general of the Foreign Ministry at the time, advised self-restraint: "If we were all to sit it out calmly, eyeball to eyeball, so to speak, the hijackers would be the first to blink." Despite heavy pressure from the other governments, Israel stood firm, while the crisis centre in Jerusalem worked round the clock, analysing the information as it came in.

After ten days the fate of the passengers still hung in the balance. Arafat called for the overthrow of the Jordanian Government, and King Hussein sent his troops to attack the PLO forces entrenched in refugee camps. Then Syrian formations, including 300 tanks, carrying the insignia of the "Palestinian Liberation Army," invaded Jordan, and Hussein appealed to the Americans for urgent military intervention by air and land "from any quarter."

Kissinger indicated to Ambassador Yitzhak Rabin that the Americans would not be displeased if Israel were to respond to this cry for help from a former enemy. All the possible implications were thoroughly discussed by the two

Skilful diplomacy

DESTINATION PEACE: Three Decades of Israel Foreign Policy: A Personal Memoir by Gideon Rafael. London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 403 pp. £14.95.

Misha Louvish



Abba Eban... "the lonely swordsman"

governments, and concerted action was taken. The American Sixth Fleet was reinforced and ships moved closer to the Lebanese and Syrian coasts. A U.S. naval plane landed ostentatiously at Lod, and Israel, no less ostentatiously, moved two armoured brigades up the Jordan Valley to battle positions in plain view of the invading Syrians.

HEARTENED by this display of American and Israeli resolve, Hussein struck back, and Syrian tanks began to turn back across the border. In less than three weeks the crisis was over. All the passengers of the hijacked planes were set free unharmed after the three European countries had handed over their prisoners. There was no capitulation on the part of Israel.

The concerted PLO-Syrian attack was thus beaten off without the firing of a single Israeli or American shot, and also — a fact doubly significant in the light of recent developments — without bombastic threats or any boasting. The Labour team — Golda Meir, Abba Eban, Yigal Allon and Moshe Dayan — reinforced by the sage advice and good staff work of Gideon Rafael and his men, had coped with an ugly situation, and demonstrated to the United States — through self-restraint and sober judgment, not through public pronouncements — that Israel was a strategic asset and a force for peace in the Middle East.

The episode was typical of Rafael's approach throughout his career since the time he had helped Moshe Sharett (with the assistance of just one secretary) to set up the Israeli Foreign Ministry in Hagana headquarters in the old "Red House" on the Tel Aviv shore. He appears to have shared Sharett's viewpoint in most of his differences with Ben-Gurion and — especially — with Lavon and Dayan.

Like his master, he believed that the possible international repercussions must be fully allowed for in every decision on military operations, while B-G expected the Foreign Ministry to be, first and foremost, an obedient interpreter and advocate of national defence policy. B-G himself, as Rafael puts it, "was endowed with the unique gift of being able to switch instantaneously from high flights of fancy to earthy realism without any intermediary stages."

This tension between military needs and foreign-policy considerations was a major factor in many of the episodes described in this book. A typical example is the Lavon Affair, whose genesis is clearly and succinctly explained.

Another is the prelude to the Six Day War, when the guns spoke after the diplomats failed, despite almost continuous effort, to dissuade UN Secretary-General U Thant from withdrawing the UN Emergency Force from Sinai and the Gaza Strip. Most fateful of all was the failure to reach agreement in 1971 on a limited Israeli withdrawal and the reopening of the Suez Canal. This led to the deadlock broken only by the Yom Kippur War.

Moshe Dayan was involved in each of these events, as in many others. Rafael's relations with Dayan extended over a period of 40 years, and culminated in a brief though not, apparently, very satisfactory spell of service under him. His characterization of Dayan as politician is written with a pen dipped in acid:

"It has become an Israeli national pastime... to figure out the true intentions behind the surprise moves of Moshe Dayan. Some appear to be so involved that seasoned Dayanologists believe that he himself is not always so clear at the outset of an opaque move of the end he strives for. Rocking the boat is his favourite tactic, not to overturn it, but to sway it sufficiently for the helmsman to lose his grip or for some of its unwanted passengers to fall overboard."

OF ALL THE foreign ministers under whom Rafael served, he seems to have felt most comfortable with Abba Eban, with whom he felt "strong links of intellectual and personal affinity," while Eban

describes Rafael in his autobiography as "a political analyst of great precision and insight." Rafael pays repeated tribute to the younger man's diplomatic and oratorical prowess. He describes, for example, how "Eban, the lonely swordsman, wielded his rapier with admirable skill," and refers to his "masterful oratory, incisive logic and persuasive argument" in explaining the Kibya operation (in 1953, when an Israeli force crossed into Jordan), though he was far from convinced of its necessity.

HE CERTAINLY seems to sympathize with Eban in his frequent brushes with Ambassador Yitzhak Rabin, who, at an early stage of his mission in Washington, "had come to the conclusion that his Minister and his associates were unable to understand the intricacies of foreign affairs, which he had mastered with rocket speed."

There are many other examples in the book of this kind of quiet but trenchant irony.

After Eban defied Golda Meir: "Forgetting was not one of Golda's distinctive qualities. The clash with Eban continued to hover over their relations like a dark cloud, never to dissipate."

"Like many others, Eshkol was reluctant to cross Dayan's path, fearful of being run over at a dimly-lit, political street-crossing." "King Hussein of Jordan became the modern political Noah of the great Middle East flood... He is the great survivor on the fast-spinning oriental turntable."

But above all, this book is important as a wise and highly instructive survey of Israeli foreign policy. Is there any hope of inducing Mr. Menachem Begin to read it carefully from cover to cover and digest its lessons?

change, any stilling of the emotions? Hardly at all. One reviewer in a Jewish monthly, quoting the author's remark about "nationhood" being "a landscape of incredible grandeur," and her admission that "the culture itself, the more one knows of it, well, the more it shines with radiance," concludes his review with the exclamation: "Welcome back!"

The welcome is a little too premature. To this reviewer, for one, Mrs. Roiphe seems to stand exactly where she had left off when she started on her search. The kind of Judaism she suggests she is now willing to embrace — a Judaism that is vaguely universal, non-exclusive, political, liberal and even feminist — is simply nowhere in sight. Among many other similar things she writes: "I appreciate our Thanksgiving and Christmas. I know that I will make beautiful weddings for our daughters and that our funerals will serve well enough. But I do believe that the tensions of the ancient ways, the closeness to primitive magic, the patina of the ages and the sense of connection to past and future that are lacking in our lives are serious losses."

On a more didactic plane, too, she has many perceptive things to say. Quoting Albert Einstein's list of those features of the Jewish tradition that made him thank his stars that he belonged to it — the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake, an almost fanatical love of justice and the desire for personal independence — she writes: "Even if these are the words of Albert Einstein, there is something simplistic about them and they come from

clouds of political rhetoric rather than the clear skies of logic." For one thing, she objects, the Jews are not unique in their pursuit of knowledge and their love of justice: "All peoples' traditions respect goodness and virtue." For another, "the Jews of the ghetto, the Jews of the Middle Ages, the Jews of the great Jewish learning and study, valued not personal freedom but group allegiance and related all activities to their past. Jewish learning in the cheder fosters group agreement, repetition, rather than innovation... It is in the leaving of the group, the adoption of the strangers' ways, that the Jewish mind begins to take the qualities Einstein spoke of: Freud, Marx, Einstein himself, Kafka, Woody Allen..."

Precisely. No reader of this book can fail to be impressed, and often deeply touched, by the author's candour, her eloquence and, above all, the strength of her feelings about the subject. Towards the end of her "Conclusions," Mrs. Roiphe writes, after listing the desirable qualities of the brand of Judaism that would be acceptable to her: "It is in the Jewish tradition for the Jewish tradition to change, so perhaps! Is it possible to find a Reform Judaism that doesn't erode before the materialism, and mediocrity of this country? I will start looking for this kind of Judaism."

Clearly it's going to be a long and probably endless wait. However, Jews being notorious for their capacity for waiting, Mrs. Roiphe can have the consolation of not being alone out there, waiting.

American dilemma



GENERATION WITHOUT MEMORY: A Jewish Journey in Christian America by Anne Roiphe. New York, Linden Press/Simon & Schuster, 221 pp. \$11.95

Nissim Rejwan

purchase fine lace tablecloths and silver and dishes for their new home on Riverside Drive." He gave his two sons his business and saw two of his daughters well married — and "he did not have time to ask the question. He did not belong to a time when the question could be asked." His granddaughter however does have time — and plenty of it.

The story of the writing of *Generation Without Memory*, so we

are told in an indirect sort of way, all started in December 1978, when the author published an article in the *New York Times* describing how despite being nominally Jewish, she and her family are in the habit of celebrating Christmas, complete with decorated tree and a reading of Dylan Thomas's "A Child's Christmas in Wales." The article, entitled "Christmas Comes to a Jewish Home," attracted a torrent of negative responses and the *Times* printed a representative selection. Though she never says so, it was this, in all probability, that sent Mrs. Roiphe on her present quest.

NOW THAT she has completed her search, her journey in Christian America, does Mrs. Roiphe come out with anything new, any real

DILEMMAS can be said to be of two kinds — real and imaginary. However, even the most imaginary dilemmas have a way of becoming real, provided they are imagined long and intensively enough.

Anne Roiphe's dilemma is a real enough one, no matter how you choose to look at it. As she puts it repeatedly and variously in this collection of reflections, impressions, *cris de coeur*, memoirs and interviews, it is best summed up in this passage: "I turn my car around. My children are staring out the window at the church... The sweet lights in the church are like a campfire keeping away the wild beasts of imagination if not of reality. We cannot move toward that campfire. We cannot warm our feet or hands there, because we are Jews. Or are we still Jews? Do we dare call ourselves Jews? Do we dare not call ourselves Jews?" And, a page later, repeating the same questions, she goes on to ask: "Is it possible to be without a name? Are we brave enough or foolish enough to try?"

Needless to say, for many of us this kind of self-questioning may never have occurred in the first place. And I am not necessarily referring to Jews living in Israel. Would the various rabbis to whom the author has turned for enlightenment in the course of her quest have ever experienced such outlandish dilemmas? Mrs. Roiphe's story, as she so disarmingly tells it, is familiar enough.

Her grandfather Isaac came to America from Eastern Europe when he was nine, took up his pushcart when he was 10, and started a shirt factory when he was 20 — "and at 35 sent his wife to Europe to

Embassy without a country

The status of Jerusalem poses no problem for the occupants of the one new diplomatic mission established in the capital in the past year. The Post's DAVID KRIVINE pays a call at the International Christian Embassy, which seeks to reach up to 70 million potential supporters around the world. Photos by Karen Benzion.



(Above) Johann Lückhoff, the embassy's director. (Below) Spokesman van der Hoeven: "We are better Zionists than you Israelis."



individuals and Christian organizations all over the world. One from Brussels says, "This is a historic occasion in which together we can comfort Zion and continue to pray and seek for the peace of Jerusalem."

Crossroads Christian Communications Inc. called: "Millions of Canadians believe that our embassy should have been moved to Jerusalem. Now with the opening of the Christian Embassy we have a means of expressing our commitment, in spite of the weakness of our politicians."

An Englishwoman writes from London that she has placed a standing order with the First International Bank of Israel for a monthly contribution. She adds: "I am thankful that we Christians have an embassy in Jerusalem."

THE EMBASSY has 20 staff members working full time, plus three part-time, from nine different countries. They get no salaries, though some help is given where necessary with board and lodging.

Timothy King is the treasurer. He left his business in Canada to learn about Israel at the Institute of Holy Land Studies. The institute was founded by the late G. Douglas Young, one of Israel's most devoted supporters. His successor, Dr. George Giacomakis, of the U.S., is chairman of the embassy's board of trustees.

King says, "Our budget, if you can call it that, comes from donations. The embassy is expanding its activities. We have offices or are establishing offices (called Friends of the International Christian Embassy Jerusalem) in the U.S., Canada, Britain, Northern Ireland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, West Germany, Holland, Switzerland, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand and Ghana — and that's only a beginning."

"Our costs have skyrocketed. But the inflow of money has grown with the need." Though not by any means flush, ICEJ is financially solvent and — "with the aid of prayer," van der Hoeven interjects — its policy is to remain that way.

Embassy director is Johann Lückhoff, of South Africa. A pastor of the Dutch Reform Church, he visited Israel in time for the Tabernacles festival and stayed to help this new venture. He is abroad at the moment on the business of ICEJ, which he represented in Holland when, on May 22, a petition for the release of Soviet Jews was presented to the Russian Embassy, with 10,000 Christian signatures.

His next stop was Berlin, where a huge three-day gathering took place in June of Christian delegations from all over the world. He was one of the participants at a morning session devoted to relations with Israel and the Jewish people.

David Bivin (U.S.), another trustee, is director of the American Ulpian in Jerusalem, which runs both Hebrew and English classes. Merv and Merla Watson (Canada) are musicians and devote their talents to the Israeli cause. They have lived in this country for five years and intend to stay. Says Merla, "We've performed behind the Iron Curtain, our contact was with the underground church. We found an avid interest in Israel, a desire to know whether the biblical prophecies were really being fulfilled, a wish to help, if only they could, by working in a kibbutz."

Jay and Meridel Rawlings, also Canadians, make films for television or direct showing, which tell of the Israeli epic. They screened one, believe it or not, in Red China.

WHAT IS the motive behind all these good people's activity? Van der Hoeven recalls the immense spiritual debt owed to the Jews, also the guilt that Christians feel towards this much-persecuted nation. "The Old Testament is not your only bequest to humanity, the New Testament too is a Jewish book. Those who wrote it were practising Jews, who did not eat pig," he reminds us.

The restored Jewish state is destined to be an example, a source of redemption to the nations, which are sunk today in an unparalleled materialism. "The Jews are meant to lead the world, they have it in their blood." He appends a shrewd rider: "If you Jews were to say that, you would fear to be clobbered as a bunch of racists. But I'm not a Jew, and I say it."

Have we measured up to these high expectations? In many respects not, he concedes regretfully, but life has been hard. "Since the Holocaust you have fought four wars, with only cease-fires in between. You still don't know what it is to live in peace."

There are other shortcomings. The Jews of Israel have not inured themselves against the abominations of the gentiles, and their old-time idealism does show signs of flagging. We lack the sense of mission, we are assimilating to foreign standards. Van der Hoeven reproves us like the prophets of old. "Have you survived the terrible ordeals of your 2,000 year exile, in order to set up at the end an ordinary carnal, self-seeking state like Denmark or Holland or America?"

"We in the gentile countries need

inspiration. Go to Stockholm or Amsterdam and see the situation that people face. There are no moral standards any more, everything is permissible. We don't know how to live, how to retain our Jewish-Christian heritage; it's a sick world. The Jews have to supply that need."

But how, I ask — by complying with Orthodox ritual? "Jeremiah provides you with the best answer. He says the Lord will make a new covenant with the house of Israel. God will this time write the law in their hearts."

The Jews possess the spiritual legacy that will redeem mankind. "It's not the 613 mitzvot of thou-shalt and thou-shalt-not. The essence of Judaism is contained in two of its precepts: love thy God with all thy heart, and love thy neighbour as thyself."

HE IS CONFIDENT that the Jews of Israel will find their way back to the straight and narrow path, and makes these criticisms "not out of disapprobation, but out of concern."

"The world chooses to brand Israel as aggressive. They don't see that this nation is desperate for peace and will make any sacrifice; only their own land they want to retain."

"Sadat declares that he won't give up 'an inch of Arab territory, though he has no claim to Sinai remotely comparable to the Jewish claim on Eretz Yisrael. Nevertheless the world sees him as the great guy. Sadat with his pipe.'"

THE EMBASSY are steadfast in their beliefs, and do not hesitate to give their voice, before Jew and gentile alike. Their main purpose, however, is to harness the Christian world in support of Israel's cause — through thick and thin.

Not all their representative offices overseas are new. Where a suitable voluntary organization already exists, they make contact with it — and there are quite a number around: "Help to Israel" in Holland, "Prayer for Israel" in Britain, "Arbeitskreis zur Israel" in West Germany, "International Christian Action for Israel" in South Africa. Other such groups exist elsewhere.

"Here," says van der Hoeven, "is their embassy." Or, as an alternative designation: "You can see us as a kind of *Sochnut* [Jewish Agency]." The embassy promotes every kind of propaganda for the cause it cherishes, through press, radio, films, tapes, meetings, "love-Israel" nights.

One of its aims is to assist the Israeli economy. A rich businessman called Karel van Oordt, who volunteered to be the embassy's "economic attaché," has organized IP80 (IP stands for Israeli Product). He started the drive in his own country, Holland, where he created an Israel Promotion Centre.

This is the way it works. Van Oordt and his associates sponsor coffee evenings featuring Israeli commodities. They then proceed to



Music and movement classes at the Kfar Galim summer camp; at centre are Robert and Mary Jane Asher, founders of the Music Foundation of Israel

THE 200 teenagers taking part in a two-and-a-half week summer camp in the Kfar Galim agricultural school near Haifa are undoubtedly having fun, but the experience can hardly be described as a vacation.

From 7.30 a.m. until late at night, they are participating in special dance, music and drama workshops funded by the three-year-old Music Foundation of Israel.

Specially selected for their promising talent, the youngsters, from all over the country, pay only a nominal fee for the experience. The rest is provided by the Music Foundation, which began as a mere \$15,000-a-year operation providing musical instruments to disadvantaged youngsters and has swelled to a \$350,000-a-year programme, which has started thousands of Israeli youngsters on a musical road.

The founders, Robert and Mary Jane Asher of Chicago, could have — like most philanthropists — written a cheque and felt satisfied with that. Instead, the couple rented an apartment in Jerusalem and spend a third of the year here, planning projects, providing encouragement and making sure that their seed money is channelled into the most effective places.

The summer camp's dance, drama and music programmes each have their own instructors and supervisors, some of them specially brought in from the U.S. Selection criteria for the young participants differed, but all were harsh. Those enrolled in drama, for instance, had to be members of theatre groups (such as those in Kiryat Shmona, Ofakim in the South and in Kiryat Bia'k near Haifa).

The young musicians are members of local bands or the National Youth Band. As for dance students, they are actually divided in two groups: those who attended regular dance classes at *mar hassim*

(neighbourhood sports and culture centres) and their teachers, who are shown not only how to develop their own skills but also how to develop potential in their pupils. "Practically none had previous dancing instruction. They are naturals," says Mary Jane Asher. "We call them 'teachers on the way'. Once the camp is over, we're sure they'll be able to go back to their towns and considerably uplift the level of any dance activity they get themselves into."

THE Kfar Galim gym is now equipped with a special PVC floor for dancing and enormous, wood-cased mirrors. These contributions from the Performing Arts Summer Camp will later be distributed among *mar hassim*. The teachers on the way exercise hard there.

Dance classes are centred on jazz, Mary Jane explains. "That's what's going on today." There does not seem to be much interest in folk dancing, she adds. "There's too much of it being done already."

What do the other groups learn? "Theatre students have pantomime, acrobatics, clowning and classes in diction acting and movement. In the evening, most are engaged in group or individual projects, trying to apply what they had learned during the day. Aspiring musicians are taught music theory, composition, coordination and practice together, in the evenings."

Zubin Mehta took time off before one of his concerts in Haifa with the Israel Philharmonic and dropped in

at Kfar Galim to hear the National Youth Band in action. He was visibly impressed, and it did not take much to persuade him to take over the baton from Jimmy Reynolds, the conductor and director of the camp's music programme. The kids were delighted to play under such a famous musician and Mehta, in a little speech, praised their good playing and said, "You are the future players of the Israel Philharmonic, so we won't have to look around abroad anymore for good wind players." He has already thought about future cooperation of the NYB with the IPO at special events.

MARY JANE hopes that next year the camp will offer choral music. "There are so many people interested in it!" Dance classes are to be expanded, to include both advanced (those who participated this year) and beginner groups. "But our main ambition is to keep in contact with all the young people who were with us this year. We want to follow their progress, check the extent of changes we encouraged — and stimulate them to come back for more."

THE MUSIC began pretty much by chance. A third-generation American Jew with no particularly strong ties to Israel, Mary Jane — who has a degree in music education but doesn't play an instrument — was running an international youth music festival in Vienna five years ago. An Israeli music enthusiast complained to her about the lack of attention given to

music education here, and said indignantly: "Why are you doing this in Vienna, instead of where it's really needed — in Israel?"

Her husband, whose company manufactures metal parts for lamps, and who once played a trombone in high school, backed her up in her decision to promote musical education in Israel.

The Ashers found that music education is not compulsory here; that many disadvantaged youngsters come from homes where classical music is never tuned in on radio or played on records and tapes; where many families can't afford individual lessons; and where teachings of instrumental music in groups is not common.

Besides finding musical education a fertile field, the Ashers believed that musical training offers a child self-discipline and cultivates team effort.

"It means playing when the conductor says to play, not when you feel so moved," pointed out Mary Jane, a straight-talking, casually dressed woman. As a result of the foundation's in-school music education programme, over 800 children are studying to play instruments, read music, appreciate rhythms and sing in choirs. The goal is that every child in the programme in every town (it is operating in Acre, Lod and Ashdod and soon will spread to Jerusalem and Beersheba) learn to play an instrument and develop listening skills. Classes are held during regular school hours for all children, rather than as options for

those who can stay on in the afternoon.

The cost of providing instruments to a single class is about \$10,000, says Mary Jane, but the youngsters themselves take very good care of the property. Many mothers have sewn cloth covers for the instruments to prevent scratching. Carrying around a gleaming tube or a sleek flute adds to their children's self-esteem.

Under the instrument loan programme, municipal youth bands are lent instruments.

SOME OF America's top experts in youth bands, like Dr. William Revelli of the University of Michigan and Prof. Jimmy Howard Reynolds of Iowa State University (both non-Jews) have come to Israel for long periods on foundation subsidies to teach seminars for youth band conductors and teachers.

The Music Foundation also founded the Israel National Symphonic Youth Band, bringing together stars of local youth bands for joint practice. A central library of hand music was established in 1978 with tens of thousands of dollars worth of hand music in catalogue.

Asked what their activist philanthropy does for them, the Ashers smile. "Because of the foundation, we have met the most marvellous people. We've helped change lives." Robert, who is secretary of the Israel lobby AIPAC, says, with a dubious arithmetic, that he "devotes one-third of his time to business, one-third to AIPAC, one-third to the music foundation and one-third to the Jewish Welfare Board."

"AIPAC," he asserts, "relates to survival of Israel, but the foundation relates to a different need — the quality of life and the future of children — that can determine the goals of survival."

wherever, of making a 15-minute stop at the embassy, we'd give them an idea of what we are trying to do. "Don't forget, we are not a Jewish organization that could be presumed to follow its own interest. We speak to them from within our own faith. And many of them truly want to receive our message."

RELIGION RELIGION

Relations between the political life have become increasingly frequent subjects of discussion. This, particularly in view of the crucial negotiations to form a coalition government. Here are opposing points of view expressed in recent articles in *The Jerusalem Post*.

Choices for the Orthodox voter

By Peter Reich

BOTH LABOUR and the Likud are today paying the price for the effective disenfranchisement of the country's religious Jews, which they have engineered over the past 30 years.

While politicians rightly ponder over the manner in which the Sephardi voice should be heard in the Knesset, they would be extremely unwise to overlook the dilemma of Israel's Orthodox voter. David Landau, in his article "The Aguda connection" (July 5), has focused a welcome beam of light on the subject, but is wrong on two counts. The problem is not one of the Labour Party only, and it is a mistake to consider only those who vote for Agudat Yisrael.

Pronouncements by Labour Party leaders before the elections about how they would sweep away religious legislation have served to highlight a situation in which the religious voter is forced to realize that he alone is ready to protect Judaism in the Jewish state.

Leaving aside Menahem Begin, one has little reason to believe that members of the Likud have a more positive view of religion than their Labour counterparts.

In this situation, the religious

voter is not permitted the luxury of opinions on foreign, economic or social affairs — he is forced to vote for one of the religious parties to give it strength to defend the cause of Judaism.

It is a gross oversimplification to describe Agudat Yisrael as non-Zionist as opposed to the "Zionist" National Religious Party. Of course, all political labels are oversimplifications for the diversity of opinion that exists within any political grouping.

In this case, however, such labels conveniently hide the fact that for any practising Orthodox Jew, life in Israel is bearable only if a suitable religious framework exists. The act of living in the State of Israel is for him synonymous with his endeavour to deepen his Jewish religious consciousness. Every individual will interpret this concept differently according to his degree of observance, but to ask anyone to choose between the country and his religion is to place him in an impossible position. That is what both Labour and Likud parties have succeeded in doing.

Reluctant toleration of religion is not, and never will be, sufficient to change this situation. No religious

voter wishes to impose a theocracy or full observance of the Sabbath on a largely secular population. He does, however, demand that there should be a positive attitude towards Jewish education and the religious framework, and a recognition that the existence of a flourishing, vibrant Orthodox community is vital to the well-being of the state.

A POSITIVE attitude requires the large political parties to acknowledge and understand the centrality of religion in the lives of the Orthodox — whether those lives are played out in Israel or in the Diaspora. This centrality is not a matter to be compromised or bargained on in coalition negotiations. Nor is the acknowledgment one which can be made or withdrawn according to one's mood.

If Labour or the Likud considers any one or all of the religious parties to be potential coalition partners, it is no good talking with the voice of

sweet reason one week and threatening to abolish all their "privileges" the next. The religious voter will trust the other parties only when he is satisfied that he can trust his religion in their hands.

The truth is, of course, that the religious voter has views on as many political issues as his secular counterpart. The passion with which these views are held may from time to time lead the religious voter to desert the religious parties. The vote for the (ultra-nationalist) Tehiya party is a case in point. It can, however, be assumed that many of those who voted Tehiya believed that, in the short run at least, their religious requirements were not threatened. In a future election, they are most likely to return to their old "home." When that happens, they will once again be effectively disenfranchised. Who will be the losers? Labour, Likud, Israeli democracy and the religious voter.

A great deal has been made of the essential pragmatism of David Ben-Gurion and his immediate successor, together with his conviction that good government required the participation of the representatives of the Orthodox community.

whether they be Aguda or NRP. David Landau stressed in his article the insensitivity of Golda Meir, followed by the shortsightedness of Rabin and Peres, and blames them for the present situation in which the Labour Party has lost all connection with the religious parties. To some extent this is true, but this analysis overlooks the many bitter struggles for religious rights waged during the days of Ben-Gurion.

It overlooks, too, the fact that the present generation of Labour leaders (and Likud leaders) has had far less contact with or understanding of Diaspora Jewish communities. The contacts of the older generation of political leaders undoubtedly contributed to a greater understanding of the place of orthodoxy in Jewish life — even in Israel.

The positive attitude towards orthodoxy referred to above will, therefore, not be easy to achieve in the present climate. If, however, the leaders of Labour and Likud wish at the very least to contain the disenfranchisement of the Orthodox, then the effort will be worthwhile.

The author is an economist who has contributed to the Jewish press.

How the non-Orthodox must abide

By Misha Louvish

IN THE light of the power exercised by the Orthodox over the lives of all the citizens of Israel — whether or not they wish to abide by the rules of religious law — Reich's black picture is a travesty of the truth.

Here are only a few features of the situation today in the free State of Israel, where Peter Reich charges that the religious voter has suffered "effective disenfranchisement... over the past 30 years."

The Jewish Sabbath and festivals are obligatory public holidays, on which work is forbidden, with specified and strictly controlled exceptions.

There is no public transport on the Sabbath (with the exception of the Haifa district), so that the bulk of the public cannot travel to the coast and the countryside on their weekly day of rest.

Marriage and divorce of Jews are the monopoly of the Orthodox rabbinate, so that young people whose union is forbidden by religious law cannot found a family.

Religious leaders of the non-Orthodox communities, who make up a majority of the Jews in the world, are not allowed to celebrate marriages for members of their own congregations in Israel, though their right to perform such functions is jealously guarded in every other free country.

Orthodox religious education is provided at public expense in two varieties: "State Religious," controlled in effect by the National Religious Party, and "Chinuch Atzmai" ("Independent Education"), which is run by Agudat Yisrael, and the present Minister of Education has been introducing NRP nominees into many key positions in

the general school system; There is a special Religious Affairs Ministry, which, according to the admission of the incumbent minister in open court, has been distributing public funds to religious institutions in such a way as to serve the political interests of religious party politicians;

Abortion is forbidden except when allowed by Orthodox religious law, even when required in the interests of the mother and her potential offspring; Severe restrictions are placed on post mortems, even when, in the considered opinion of professional physicians, they are advisable in order to prevent future loss of life, because of a stringent interpretation of the noble Jewish principle that the saving of life must have absolute priority.

SOME OF these arrangements are generally and willingly accepted; others have been received with acquiescence in order to preserve a Jewish atmosphere or to meet the legitimate requirements of religious Jews; but some of the restrictions have been imposed on the great majority of the population by what can only be described as political blackmail.

Look at the situation today. Only about 12 per cent of the electorate voted for specifically religious parties, but these parties — especially Agudat Yisrael, which, together with its "labour" wing, got about 4.5 per cent of the votes — are at this moment insisting that the largest party shall undertake in advance to compel all its members — whatever their consciences may dictate — to vote for the legislation that a certain venerable Hassidic *rebbe* regards

as mandatory, even if it is liable to cause a disastrous split between Israel and Diaspora Jewry.

"Disenfranchised"! It is we, over four-fifths of the nation, who are effectively disenfranchised on any question on which the Orthodox, who hold the balance, dig in their heels.

Reich's article is thickly studded with misrepresentations and doubletalk that Orwell never dreamt of. The Labour Party leaders never threatened to "sweep away religious legislation"; they only promised, if they were given the power, to ensure freedom and recognition for all trends in Judaism, and to repeal some of the legislation that the Aguda forced down the Knesset's throat during the past four years.

THE MOST striking example of this political brutality was the way that the Liberals were coerced into voting for the amendment of the law on abortion to forbid social circumstances to be taken into account. Despite their loud protestations, the dissenting Liberals were practically frog-marched into the chamber with their arms twisted behind their backs.

No one interferes with the Orthodox Jew's "endeavour to deepen his Jewish religious consciousness." The previously existing law on abortion, for instance, had no effect whatever on the way of life of religious Jews, whose wives need no law to make them observe the principles of the Torah.

The "suitable religious framework" that Peter Reich wants

is more comprehensive and deeply rooted in Israel today than it has been anywhere else in the world during the past two thousand years. Israel has enabled the religious Jew to come out of the ghetto and play a full part in the life of the country he lives in without any sacrifice of his Judaism: only in the Jewish State can he contribute fully to the realization of the Torah in every aspect of life.

It is the height of irony that the Aguda, which was founded specifically as an anti-Zionist organization and which consistently opposed the establishment of the Jewish State, should now try to force elements of its way of life on the entire population of that state on the pretext of "religious rights."

There is no truth in the assertion that the religious voter cannot express his opinions on foreign, economic or social affairs because he is forced to vote for a religious party in order "to defend the cause of Judaism." The Mizrahi and the National Religious Party exercised a significant influence on national affairs before they succumbed to the pressure of their extremists and hitched their wagon to the star of Begin.

Even within the framework of specifically religious parties, both the NRP and the Aguda could have exerted more influence if they had retained their independence. If the new Aguda leader, Reb Avraham Shaprio, had any deeply considered political or religious principles, he would not be so easily hoodwinked by the gaudy religious make-up that Mr. Begin puts on to woo his credulous religious partners.

IT IS SURELY time for a thorough reconsideration of the entire con-

cept of "religious parties," which spend so much time and energy wrangling and intriguing for prestige, jobs for the boys and public money for the institutions that serve their electorate, that they can have little left for truly religious activities.

There is a vast field of endeavour for religious Jewry in the application of religious thought and principles to the burning problems of the day, by precept, persuasion and example — not by coercion; in voluntary effort for the provision of social services; in the extension of the influence of the synagogue (here, I believe, much can be learned from Diaspora Jewry, which has not relied on the sometimes debilitating assistance of the state).

In these areas there is no need to look for legislative intervention, but there are, of course, fields where religious Jewry has interests requiring state aid. Here, however, a broad, non-party — or all-party — movement might be more effective than the narrow-based religious parties, contaminated as they are by political intrigues and vested interests. Such a movement could command support from wide circles of religious Jews who are disgusted with the religious politicians.

Alternatively, much might be done through religious sections in the major parties. Above all, it is too much to ask religious Jews to take to heart the beautiful characterization of the Torah that we recite every Sabbath when we take out the Scrolls: "Its ways are ways of pleasantness and all its paths are peace."

The author is a writer and journalist closely involved in Labour Party affairs.

(Continued from preceding page.) the local supermarket and say: "People who come to the coffee evenings will want to know where they can buy Israeli goods. Would you like us to recommend your shop? Can we help you to stock up?" The shops gladly agree — and then they have an interest in foster-

Embassy without a country

ing the sale of the Israeli goods on their shelves," van der Hoeven concludes triumphantly. This campaign will be extended shortly to Norway, England, North America.

A businessman in Houston,

Texas, impressed by a talk about Israel, writes that he is the largest distributor of household furnishings in the American South-West. He wants to know how he can contact firms responsible for exporting

rugs, floor coverings and decorative accessories from Israel, so that he can "help the supply of Israeli products on our market."

Talking to people evokes a response. Says van der Hoeven appealingly: "If only Israeli guides acquire the habit, while taking Christian groups to the Israel Museum or

wherever, of making a 15-minute stop at the embassy, we'd give them an idea of what we are trying to do.

"Don't forget, we are not a Jewish organization that could be presumed to follow its own interest. We speak to them from within our own faith. And many of them truly want to receive our message."

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Hurvitz family sells its dairies to Tnuva

By YITZHAK OKED
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The family of former finance minister Yigael Hurvitz last week sold its dairy companies, Tenne-Noga and Adnir, to Tnuva, the Histadrut Labour Federation cooperative food distribution company, for a reported \$55m.

Yitzhak Landesman, managing director of Tnuva, told *The Jerusalem Post* that he will continue using the Tenne-Noga and Adnir trade names.

Tenne-Noga handles 6 per cent of Israel's total milk production, while Adnir supplies 15 per cent of the country's ice cream market. The sale means that Tnuva will now control 85% of the total dairy food market.

Landesman said that Tnuva will not have problems raising the \$55m. from internal sources and commercial loans. He told *The Post* Tnuva had taken this step to increase production capabilities, especially in ice cream, which will now be doubled to 30 per cent of the market.

Landesman said that this transaction does not violate any anti-monopoly laws. He pointed out that all dairy products are completely controlled by the government,

which decides when, and by how much, to raise prices.

Nevertheless, the Histadrut's Central Consumer's Authority has promised to keep an eye on Tnuva.

Ruth Kringle, acting director of the CCA, told *The Jerusalem Post* that this was not the only recent merger in the food industry. Osem bought out Froumine, she said, and the food industry is in the hands of monopolies. She called for more government control to protect the consumers.

Michael Strauss, manager of the family owned Strauss dairy in Nahariya, one of the two remaining large independent dairies, took the Hurvitz-Tnuva in stride. Strauss is the largest producer of ice cream in the country, with about 50 per cent of the total production. Their milk products constitute from 20 to 30 per cent of the market and they do not sell fresh milk.

Questioned whether his company was next on line in Tnuva's "hit list," Strauss answered sharply that they were not speculators but producers. Strauss dairies have existed for 40 years. "The Katyusha rocket shells falling on Nahariya didn't destroy us last week," he said. "Tnuva will not do so this week," he said.

UK trade leaders honoured

By MACABEE DEAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Four UK businessmen were recently honoured in London for their achievements in developing trade between Britain and Israel last year.

They were given the "Silver Rose Awards," recently established to pay tribute in this specific field. The Awards are sponsored by Bank Hapoalim in conjunction with the British-Israel Chamber of Commerce, and the Israel embassy in London.

Two of the awards were for individuals, and the other two for firms.

The personal awards were presented to the Hon. Michael D. Sieff, CBE, president of the British Overseas Trade Group of Israel and vice-chairman of the British Israel Chamber of Commerce, and to Jonathan D. Weil, organizer of a trade exhibition by Israeli manufacturers held in London last March.

The award for imports went to the Footwear and Allied Agencies, based in Westgate Street, for the fastest growth in British exports to Israel, while the award for investments went to Walter Huber, founder of the British-Israel Aluminum Die-casting Company. The British-Israel Chamber of Commerce and the British Overseas Trade Group for Israel are working hard to stimulate the growth of trade between the two countries. For many years Bank Hapoalim has recognized its responsibilities to support these efforts.



Michael D. Sieff

Banking growth at record high

By SHLOMO MAOZ
Post Economic Reporter

The Israeli economy has reached the point where financial management is more important than industrial efficiency, creating a financial-intensive society.

"This phenomenon is illustrated by the fact that bank balance sheets grew by 5 per cent in 1980, while our Gross National Product only rose by 2 per cent," said Examiner of Banks Oded Messer recently at a press conference.

Israel now holds the world record in the proportion of bank balance sheets to GNP, with the balance sheets more than double national production.

The "bankization" of the Israeli economy can be easily perceived in the following figures: In 1980, the number of bank accounts grew by 7 per cent; the number of transactions by 12 per cent; the number of loans by 6 per cent; the number of bank employees by 6 per cent; and the number of banking offices by 2.3 per cent.

The number of persons working in the banking sector has doubled in the past 20 years.

Banking services are expensive because of Israel's high rate of taxation. Only reducing the tax rate will bring down the cost of banking services, the bank examiner said, noting that out of last year's 26 per cent profits on total equity in real terms, real net profits reached only 2 per cent.

Competition between banks increased last year, despite the centralization of the banking system. The competition centred mainly on attracting new customers to savings programmes, to investments in stocks and bonds and to other types of investments.

The Israeli banking sector also showed major growth abroad, with the number of branches in other countries reaching an even 100, reflecting an increase of 22 per cent in 1980.

Rates of exchange

Foreign exchange rates against the Israeli Shekel, 25.71			
Currency	IS	US	12.1700
British sterling	4.9792		
German mark	2.0973		
French franc	4.4767		
Dutch guilder	5.7569		
Swiss franc	2.3370		
Swedish krona	1.5857		
Danish krone	9.9453		
Canadian dollar	13.8596		
Australian dollar			



Industry Minister Gideon Patt (right) is all smiles as he accepts a cheque for IS39,532,151 from the general manager of the Dead Sea Works, Arie Shahar, last month. Shahar said that so far this year the government has collected about IS71m. in royalties, a real increase of 13 per cent over last year.

Don't sell Israel Railways to private investor group

By YITZHAK OKED
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Private investors are interested in buying the Israel Railways because of its valuable real estate holdings, MK Gad Ya'acobi, (Labour) told *The Jerusalem Post* last week.

The real estate is in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, Haifa, Beersheba, Nahariya and other places, he said. Ya'acobi said that whoever bought the railways could either sell this choice land for a handsome profit or develop it into large building complexes.

A former minister of transport, Ya'acobi was commenting on reports that a group of private investors, headed by former finance minister Yigael Hurvitz and his sons, are planning to buy the railways.

The Hurvitz family has sold its dairy companies, Tenne-Noga and Adnir, to Tnuva for \$5.5 million which presumably would help finance the railways purchase. (See other story this page).

The Post learns from reliable sources that there has been no government decision to sell the railways as yet.

During the past two years there have been reports that the government intended selling the railways, as part of its policy to dispose of its companies and because the railways have been losing money, particularly

on its passenger operations. Great sums of money would be needed to turn the railways into a profitable business.

Among the strongest bidders for the Israel Railways are the Israel Port Authority and Israel Chemicals, both public companies. Israel Chemicals is the railways' main customer and transports minerals from the Negev to Ashdod Port for export. The IPA believes that it can turn the railways into an efficient and profitable business.

Yitzhak Rahav, the IPA managing director, told *The Post* yesterday that the IPA would have no problem raising the purchase money from its own funds. "We will not need government subsidies to do this. IPA has never been subsidized by the government, and we do not plan to start now," he said.

He said he was strongly opposed to selling the railways, which are a public utility and a monopoly, to private investors.



Yitzhak Rahav

Aid snub to Israel by Common Market

Israel has accused the EEC of discriminating against it in a package of aid to eight Mediterranean countries worth £550m. over the next five years.

The Financial Times, reporting from Brussels, said last week that as soon as the EEC details surfaced, Yitzhak Minerbi, Israel's ambassador, complained that his country was being offered no direct grants

from the Community budget. The seven other potential recipients, including oil-rich Algeria, are all offered non-repayable grants.

The Financial Times said some governments sympathized with Israel's view that it should be given some grants for projects eligible for EEC loan aid. The opposing view was that Israel had a far higher per capita income than the other seven.

IDB in New York had 32% growth

TEL AVIV. — The semi-annual balance sheet of the Discount Bank of New York, covering the period ending June 30, 1981, shows a growth of 32 per cent, to \$2,073 million, it was announced last week. This bank, a subsidiary of Bank Discount (Israel) is in charge of the bank's activities in the Western hemisphere.

Deposits grew by 28 per cent in the past six months, to stand at \$1.850m.

The bank's capital means stand at \$98.5m. The Discount Bank of New York's balance sheet includes the Discount Bank in Montevideo, which has three branches, and the two branches in Miami.

Zim on even keel now

By YAACOV FRIEDLER
Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. — The Zim shipping company finished the first half of the year within the projected budget, and with "sufficient profit to keep our head above water," the company's general manager, Yehuda Rotem, told *The Jerusalem Post* last week. The company had budgeted a \$750m. turnover for the year.

Rotem noted that the small profit, continuing Zim's run of profitable years, was a considerable accomplishment in view of the ongoing worldwide shipping slump.

Rotem attributed Zim's success to a combined "aggressive marketing and development policy," especially on foreign trade lines with a major effort at raising efficiency of fleet operations.

He noted that the greatest efforts had been invested in fuel saving, because the high price of fuel made this the most lucrative saving. He

noted that Zim would spend about \$130m. on fuel this year, down by about 15 per cent compared to 1980.

This had been achieved by reducing speeds to optimal fuel consumption cruising speeds, sandblasting the ships' bottoms and painting them with a coat of Self Polishing Paint to reduce friction, changing engines for more fuel efficient motors, and planning the most fuel efficient designs for all new ships.

Savings had also been made by tighter control of the company's containers, which had enabled Zim to take some 6,000 containers out of service, while increasing container traffic and by tightening the efficiency of ships' crews, with "more rational" complements on the new ships. He noted that the seamen's unions were cooperating on this with Zim as they realised that they were both in the same boat, and that they would sink together if the company started losing money.

El Al cut losses last year

By MACABEE DEAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — El Al is still flying in the red, but its financial losses in fiscal year 1981 were less than half those of the previous year, Avraham "Buma" Shavit, chairman of the board of the airline, said last week.

The company lost a total of \$47.4 million in the year ending on March 31, as compared to \$98.6m. lost in fiscal 1980. The national air carrier now has an accumulated debt of \$169m.

"We can feel considerable satisfaction with our accomplishments in the 1980-1981 fiscal year, but there are still plenty of problems to be solved," said Shavit.

El Al could have improved its financial situation even more, he pointed out, if government public

officials — such as from the Jewish Agency, universities and scientific institutions "who receive financial support from the government" — were forced to fly on the national airlines.

As to the future, Shavit said that El Al could only become profitable if its existing planes are replaced with more economical ones. Presently, the airline has two Boeing 737s and four Boeing 767s on order which will be delivered in the next two years. Meanwhile, Shavit said, the antiquated, fuel-guzzling Boeing 707s in the fleet are to be phased out.

He added that the airline's financial statements "were honest and no attempt was made to hide the true facts by financial manipulations."



Highly trained worker at the task of sorting emeralds. (Fuchs)

Emeralds big business here

By JOSEPH MORGENSTERN
Post Financial Reporter

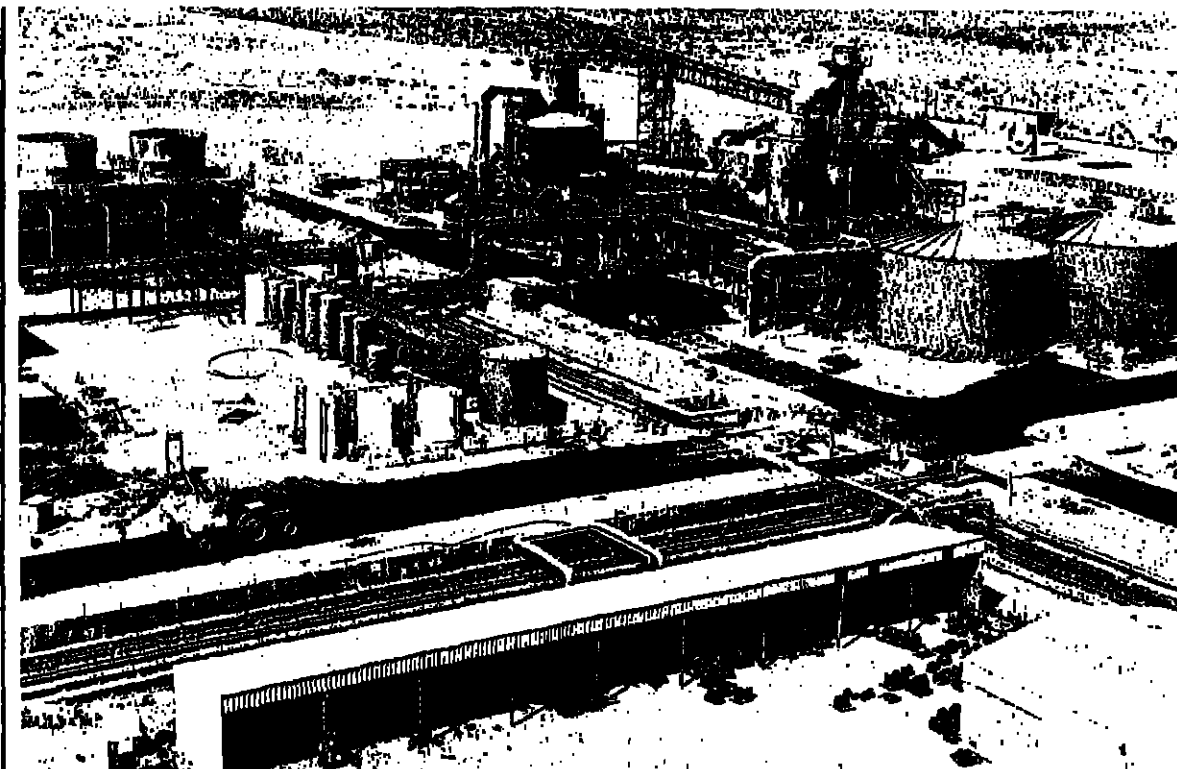
TEL AVIV. — Capping five years of dynamic growth, which have seen exports rise from \$10m. to \$50m. a year, Israel is now the world's single largest resource for cut emeralds.

Industry sources estimate that the 12 local companies active in the field will account for some 50 per cent of the total world supply of emeralds in 1981. From a national point of view, the emerald exports are even more valuable than an equivalent amount of diamond exports. Cut emeralds include no less than 35 per cent added value as compared with some 22 per cent for diamonds.

In view of the industry's rapid growth, an Israel Emerald Cutters Association was formed earlier this month. The newly established association will conduct trade and

consumer oriented programmes so as to enhance acceptance of emeralds. It will maintain information booths at the major jewelry shows so as to acquaint buyers with Israel's ability to supply their needs. The Cutters Association may also cooperate in cooperatively securing emerald roughs, which, in comparison with diamond roughs, are relatively scarce.

The local industry, according to Zvi Ichaki, chairman of the public relations committee of the Cutters Association, specializes in cutting African-mined emerald roughs. "We prefer the African roughs due to their high quality," stated Ichaki, recipient this year of the outstanding exporter award. Ichaki's firm, Israel Emerald Syndicate Ltd. is exporting emeralds at a rate which this year may exceed the \$8.5 million mark.



This aerial view impresses one with the size of the Mithor Rotem fertilizer plant near Arad, which started its running-in process last month. A subsidiary of Israel Chemicals, the plant is expected to repay its \$90m. investment in about six years.

U.S. capital for Dead Sea oil drill

By ARYEH WOLMAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The costs of making the deepest and most complex oil drilling in the Middle East, through thousands of metres of salt on the southern shore of the Dead Sea, are to be borne by private overseas investors. This will follow a deal struck last month in the U.S. by the heads of Israel's two government oil companies, Hanah and Hanal, with a group of private U.S. investors.

The drilling, Sdom-3, which is scheduled to begin in two months, will probe to a depth of about 7.5 kilometres in the hope of striking a catchment of oil or gas undisturbed by the turbulent history of the Syrian rift valley. At least 100 million barrels of oil, or its fuel equivalent is at stake, geologists said last week. This would be sufficient to supply all the country's energy needs for nearly 1 1/2 years.

The drilling is to take place in one of the pools of the Dead Sea Works, to the east of the potash plant, near the Jordanian border. Most of the necessary equipment has already been bought and other machinery will be transferred to the site from the Vista oil company drilling, completed last month in the north-western Negev.

For the first time ever, the government's Oil Exploration Investment Company, Hanah, which is to carry out the drilling, will use a foreign company, from Houston,

Texas, to plan and supervise the operation. "This is because of the extraordinary difficulties of carrying out such a drilling," sources in the oil industry explained. The bore will have to pass through a thick layer of salt, between three and five kilometres below the surface of the earth.

The deepest drilling carried out in Israel to date has been one near Ramallah which reached a depth of 6.2 kilometres. The cost of the Sdom-3 drilling, \$16m., amounts to more than half of the government's total oil drilling budget last year, when about 20 drillings were made.

Half the \$16m. will be raised as private equity capital, according to an agreement awaiting signature which was reached last week by Hanah managing director, Yossi Langotsky, Dr. Elazar Barak, managing-director of the National Oil Company Hanal, and a U.S. drilling fund. This sum will be matched by another \$8m. loan to the fund by the Israeli government.

By taking a government loan, rather than an investment, the fund will increase its financial leverage and thus also its risks in financing the drilling. But the deal will allow the fund to qualify for U.S. tax benefits. The only similar investment package ever made by an Israeli government was with a group of European investors to finance drillings in Sinai.

Said one oil geologist: "The investment and risk involved are large. But so is the chance of success."

Osem getting larger share of food market

By GALINA VROMEN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TWO BOTTLES of unlabelled salad dressing sit on Eugen Proper's desk. As a founder and managing director of Osem Food Industries, trying out new products on his family is part of a routine day's homework.

But recently Osem has added such a large number of new products to its line that even Eugen Proper can't quite keep up.

In early July, Osem bought out Froumine, the oldest cracker and biscuit company in Israel, and automatically added about 100 new products to its already impressive list of about 650 different items.

Osem estimates that before buying Froumine from the Ben-Haim and Yoshpe families, it controlled about 35 per cent of the market in baked goods. With the purchase of Froumine — a company with a 1942m. turnover in 1980 — Osem contends it now controls another 10 per cent of the local market.

"We were going to expand

anyway, we had been planning to buy two new ovens because we had about reached capacity in our existing facilities, and when the offer to buy Froumine's came along, we decided it was a better way to get the relatively new equipment we wanted to increase our line," Proper said.

With the purchase of Froumine for an undisclosed sum, Osem has acquired Froumine's half of a Haifa facility (Avi Baking Industries), a biscuit and cracker facility in Bnei Brak and a pasta factory in Shderot.

It was the pasta factory — built in 1976 to compete against Osem — that was largely responsible for Froumine's heavy losses and eventual sale. "Froumine never managed to make a serious dent in the market with their pasta, despite an aggressive advertising campaign," said Proper. Osem had built a factory in Yokneam in 1975 that had doubled its pasta production. Osem managed to corner about 80 per cent of the Israeli market for pasta while Froumine

racked up a debit of about IS50m. before selling out to the competition.

Now Osem will sell Froumine pasta through its own marketing network, producing the pasta in Osem's two pasta-making plants. The former Froumine pasta factory in Shderot will produce other Osem goods, Proper said.

But he added that although there will be some changes in former Froumine facilities, Osem plans to continue selling Froumine products as a separate line and continue to employ Froumine's 250 employees.

In a separate move, the company has also teamed up with the Elite chocolate company and the Sunfrost frozen food company to form a new firm that will produce frozen convenience foods under the brand name Superfrost. "It won't be like Sunfrost, frozen fresh vegetables and fruits, but rather things that will use our joint know-how: pizzas, TV dinners, frozen baked goods of various sorts," Proper said.

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1096	13	BANK	0.11	0.11	6.95	2.22	INDUSTRY	4.91	4.72
21	13	Leumi	0.11	0.11	23.9	1.1	Alliance (10)	0.14	0.14
21	13	Uphal	0.14	0.14	72	30.9	Arzar, Jar, Paper Mills	0.36	0.43
418	253	I.D.B. Bankholding Ordinary (10)	0.21	0.21	502	0.2	Argonim (8) — Textile Ordinary Reg.	0.01	0.01
73	454	Mitsab Reg. (1)	0.31	0.32	279	0.7	Ala (7) — Textile	0.01	0.01
178	22	MORTGAGE BANK	0.38	0.41	279	0.7	Dutch (2) — Cigarettes (10) Reg.	0.13	0.13
178	22	General Mortgage Reg. (10)	0.77	0.81	279	0.7	Sho (2.5) Reg. — Transmeters	0.21	0.25
145	189	Telcel Ordinary Reg. (10)	0.77	0.81	279	0.7	Mistral (5) Mist. Equip.	0.09	0.10
1.92	1.75	INSURANCE	0.66	0.74	619	1.34	Wire and Cable (2.5) Reg.	0.14	0.15
1.45	1.47	Argah (10)	0.54	0.62	6.96	3.18	Shilo	0.62	0.78
1.18	1.12	Haharsh Reg. (10)	0.20	0.27	68	1.94	Protector (100) Mistral Chemical	1.78	1.78
119	84	Barak Reg. (10)	0.06	0.06	156	0.6	Polygon Textile (3)	0.14	0.13
145	189	Delek Fuel Reg.	0.06	0.06	241	0.5	Tael — Plywood (5) Reg.	0.06	0.06
3.11	1.14	Electric Corp.	0.06	0.09	28	1.1	Teva Pharmaceuticals (10) Reg.	0.93	1.08
14	68	REAL ESTATE AND CITRUS	2.19	2.24	146	0.99	David Ben Gurion	0.06	0.06
1.32	256	Agria-Jerale	0.13	0.13	21.78	11.50	Leumi	0.32	0.32
1.32	256	L.D.C.	0.14	0.16	606	3.06	Clal (Israel) (100)	0.33	0.37
1.32	256	Mehadrin Citrus	0.92	1.01	247	1.36	Discount Registered (1)	2.07	2.13
1.32	256	Property and Building (10)	1.40	1.47	10	35	Export Investment (10) Reg.	0.19	0.23
1.32	256	Rasoco (Preferred) (10)					OS Investment		

FRIDAY, JULY 31, 1981

Ambiguous cease-fire

THE CEASE-FIRE agreement in the north is barely a week old, yet it is already threatening to break down under the weight of its heavily studied ambiguity.

When the accord was being hammered out in Jerusalem last week, through the good offices of U.S. envoy Philip Habib, Premier Begin's main concern was to hide its true nature as linking Israel and the PLO in a mutual undertaking to cease firing across the Lebanese frontier. Thus in announcing it no mention was made of an actual cease-fire, and the text spoke merely of the termination of "all hostile military action between Lebanon and Israeli territory."

Nor was the agreement formally committed to writing, and duly signed — a fact that somehow slipped Labour leader Shimon Peres' mind in his appearance on TV Wednesday night. For that dreadful error Mr. Peres was taken caustically to task by the Prime Minister's Office the following morning. Yasser Arafat could not have signed the cease-fire, it was explained, because there was only an oral understanding and nothing to sign.

Did it matter? To Israel's government, it did. For the fiction had to be maintained. At all cost, that the accord involved not the PLO but the government of Lebanon.

While attending to its frippery, the government neglected to make sure that the accord had some body as well. Since the PLO was unmentionable, there could be no reference in the accord to terrorist activities within Israel — nor even to the legitimacy of Israeli response to terrorism beyond the country's frontier. This omission was underscored by Yasser Arafat's second-in-command, Khalil Wazir ("Abu Jihad"), in a statement earlier this week that pledged no letup in the "struggle for liberation" in the "occupied territories."

In the PLO's vocabulary, this term covers all of Eretz Yisrael. The contortions to which the government is resorting in denying the involvement of the PLO in the agreement were evinced yesterday by the conflicting statements of the Prime Minister's spokesman. At first he insisted that the attack on the bus travelling from Jerusalem to kibbutz Ma'aleh HaHamisha Wednesday night constitute a clear violation of the cease-fire. He later denied that assertion.

The PLO being what it is, it would not of course have agreed to suspend its terrorist activities in conjunction with the cease-fire. But it appears that there was no understanding even with the Americans as to what Israel could rightfully do to counter such outrages as the attack on the bus.

On another aspect of the cease-fire Israel apparently did have a prior understanding with the U.S. Though it came under PLO fire, and Syria too later contested it, Israel's right to continue reconnaissance flights over Lebanon was upheld by the State Department on Monday. But when Israeli warplanes downed a Syrian MiG-25 which was threatening to interfere with a surveillance mission two days later, the Department's spokesman found the incident "disturbing."

This was not an outright condemnation, but something pretty close to it. Was Washington backtracking on its word to Jerusalem, or had there simply been no clear accord on what could properly be done if the Syrians sought to forcibly prevent such overflights?

Without clearing the U.S. of possible double-dealing in this matter, it must be said that evidence of Israel seeking to nail it down is lacking. Obviously it was more important to keep the cease-fire vague than to make it specific. This is not good news for the people on both sides of the border who were under hellish cross-fire all of last week.

Dry Bones



FRIDAY, JULY 31, 1981

Aridor and the Bank of Israel governors

THE COYNESS shown by the finance minister, Yoram Aridor, in announcing his refusal to reappoint Dr. Zvi Sussman and Dr. Eliezer Sheffer to another term as deputy governors of the Bank of Israel, was wholly misplaced. There was no need to defend himself by claiming that his decision did not necessarily bind his successor. The next finance minister, as everyone knows, is going to be Mr. Aridor again.

Yet there is no gainsaying that Mr. Aridor was fully within his rights in taking the decision he did.

This much conceded, it is only legitimate to ask what useful purpose will be served by Mr. Aridor's sacking these two highly competent economists, Dr. Sussman and Dr. Sheffer, as a prelude yet to the dismissal soon of Governor Amnon Gafny himself. The finance minister will not find their betters within the profession, and he will have a hard time discovering their equals. What then is he up to?

The answer seems to be that Mr. Aridor views the central bank under Mr. Gafny and his aides as an implacable enemy, and that he is determined to remake it into a pliable handmaiden. As Mr. Aridor himself put it in this newspaper's economic reporter yesterday, the bank is no longer a counter-balance to the Treasury but now stands in outright opposition to it. This, the finance minister made clear, he is not willing to tolerate.

Had Mr. Aridor's analysis been correct, his remedy would be, if not practical, at least understandable. But in fact the analysis is completely wrong. What the deputy governors have been telling him, and the public at large, is merely what the profession as a whole believes to be the plain truth: that the economy is headed for a bad fall unless harsh restraining measures are applied without delay.

This is what the governor said in his latest report just yesterday, and there is not an economist worth his salt who would disagree with him. To suggest, as Mr. Aridor did, that Mr. Gafny was deliberately magnifying the government's failures and minimizing its successes was merely to betray a preference for toadying sycophants over counsellors of integrity.

The finance minister, his head turned by the triumph of his "sound economics" at the polls last June 30, simply would not listen to the voice of reality sound economics. Yet this debate between Mr. Aridor and the central bank is not a clash between rival schools of economics. Rather it is a case of Mr. Aridor alone being pitted against the entire economic profession.

Since this is so, the purge of the central bank's personnel can only lead to its effective closing as a centre of economic and financial thinking. Better to close the bank down altogether.

Dry Bones



TUESDAY, JULY 28, 1981

El Al's new look

EL AL IS NOT YET out of financial trouble. But the financial statement for fiscal 1980 released yesterday shows that the national carrier has achieved a remarkable improvement in performance, and has cut its losses by more than \$50m.

This was achieved by a joint effort of management and workers in the face of a global recession that affected tourism, a world-wide inflation and sharply rising fuel costs. It was done by streamlining operations, closing down unnecessary offices abroad and unprofitable flights, and introducing efficiency measures all round.

Most important, a huge chunk of fat was cut from a bloated wage bill by staff reductions of some 20 per cent — and through an agreement with the aircrews for a 20 per cent cut in their wages and the forgoing, by the rest of the staff, of the 7.5 per cent wage hike stipulated in last year's nation-wide collective wage agreement.

The results could have been even better had the government worked out a rational national aviation policy instead of treating the airline as a spoiled stepchild.

In the two decades up to 1979 El Al had built up assets of \$500m., with a negligible investment by its shareholder, the government. Yet it was lately being depicted as a chronically losing though subsidized public enterprise. True, El Al could build itself up from its own resources because it had a virtual monopoly — but no more so than other airlines throughout the world, until President Carter's "open skies" policy demolished much of that shelter.

There was never any good reason for Israel to jump on the "open skies" bandwagon as enthusiastically as it did. The hopes that charter flights and generally more competition would increase the flow of tourism have not been borne out. All that happened was that El Al's profits have come tumbling down.

The improvement in El Al's performance last year is an opportunity for the government to hammer out, at long last, a long-term air policy. The government must decide whether it is prepared to allow all kinds of fly-by-night operators to undermine the national carrier's economic viability — or whether it is willing to support it, if necessary, in the same way that other democratic countries support their own carriers.

This would require taking a fresh and close look at charter flights, the licensing of international flights by other airlines, the financing of El Al's accumulated losses, and a host of other problems.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 30, 1981

The PLO's truth

THIS COUNTRY owes Farouk Kaddumi, the head of the PLO's "political department," a debt of gratitude for the interview he granted the West German weekly Stern. The PLO, said Mr. Kaddumi, would never recognize Israel's statehood, not even if it were allowed to set up its own independent state in the West Bank and Gaza, nor would it ever let Israel live in peace and quiet.

This should help clear the air of the cant with which it has been filled by wishful-thinking about the PLO's "underlying" desire to come to terms with Israel. Farouk Kaddumi, it should be stressed, is no spokesman for some especially wild PLO faction: he speaks directly for the mainline Fatah, led by Yasser Arafat himself. The militant front he is putting on is no bargaining ploy, but a true reflection of the PLO's true sentiments. It should also cause second thoughts for those Palestinian Arabs in the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip who do seek peaceful coexistence with Israel.

At a time when Israel's own government is going out of its way to help the PLO's case, it is a relief to find the PLO aiding Israel's cause.

AMERICAN JEWISH SUPPORT

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — As a recently arrived visitor to Israel from America, I would like to express my shock at the misleading character of the article, "The view from America" (July 19). It gives the false impression that a large segment of the American Jewish community is critical of the firm stand of the State of Israel toward its adversaries, and is critical of Israel's neglect of civil rights.

The article creates this misleading impression by featuring the views of Rabbi Balfour Brickner, as if he were the spokesman of a large segment of the American Jewish public. Quite to the contrary, Brickner's views are atypical and border on eccentricity. Indeed, he was just recently the featured guest speaker at a dinner sponsored by an anti-Zionist and one-time Stalinist journal in New York. The number of American Jews who would accept such an "honour" is minuscule.

Furthermore, few American Jews are so insensitive as Brickner to make the kind of racist remarks which denigrate our North African Jewish brethren by referring to Israel as a "dumping ground" for such people.

The author of the article com-

pounds the error by associating those who have a few critical views of Israel with the wholesale hostility of Brickner, thus suggesting a ground swell of antagonism towards Israel's government in the U.S.

With respect to Israel's firmness on security matters, there is little doubt that American Jews are overwhelmingly sympathetic. In fact, a significant shift of American Jewish voters to the "tough" presidential candidate, Ronald Reagan, in America's last election confirms the fact that even American Jews believe that firmness in foreign policy is often a necessity.

With respect to Israel's stand on religious issues and civil liberties, it is understandable that many American Jews, who come from a country with a strong tradition of church-state separation, may not understand or agree with some of Israel's policies concerning religion. But it is overwhelmingly misleading to suggest that American Jews really believe that Israel has suffered a serious erosion of civil rights.

Among American Jews, only such "radical chic" oddballs like Balfour Brickner could really believe that Israel is a "dumping ground" for such people.

CHARLES EVANS
Jerusalem (New York).

ELECTORAL REFORM: FACT AND FALLACY

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — Recent announcements by progressive and reformist parties in the UK and France advocating the introduction of proportional representation in their respective countries should make Israelis aware that, while any electoral system has its drawbacks, the superiority of the constituency system is neither obvious nor generally accepted.

Mr. Yigael Yadin made electoral reform the first plank in the platform of the now defunct Democratic Party; Chaim Herzog proclaims it the main subject for citizen's concern; Amnon Rubinstein objects to the present system because it is not "modern." (I am no historian, but I suspect that it is more modern than the constituency system which predates the establishment of political parties. Presumably if adopted by one of the Western democracies, it would become modern enough.)

The merits of a constituency system have been given wide publicity. I should like to point out some of its drawbacks.

The main function of a parliamentary democracy is to give the voter a choice between alternative governments. In so far as his choice is affected by the personal qualities of the candidates, there will be a conflict of interests. What

is he to do if the better candidate (in his judgement) represents the party whose platform he opposes?

The major issues to be decided by parliament are national, not local. There can be little benefit in encouraging local vested interests in addition to the existing ones according to country of origin.

Candidates in regions such as the Galilee, where Jews and Arabs compete for dominance, are likely to be extremist.

The Israeli electorate comes from a wide range of cultural backgrounds. They require representation in parliament if they are not to become frustrated. This is easier to assure in national lists.

Whatever body has to draw up electoral boundaries could substantially affect the outcome.

There are, of course, serious disadvantages in the present system, though I doubt that it is responsible for all the shortcomings attributed to it. However I should like to think that any alternative system will have been fully weighed before a decision to implement a change. If the major aim is for the major parties to eliminate the smaller ones, this could be achieved by raising the barrier — a barrier of 2.5 per cent would have eliminated all but the five major lists.

KENNETH L. COHEN
Jerusalem.

THE POLITICAL CONVICTIONS OF PUBLIC SERVANTS

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — In "Public Faces" (July 12), Mark Segal seems to construe his stories in a way that suits his like or dislike of a public figure, distorting the truth or basing himself on pure imagination.

Thus I learnt for the first time that the undersigned "has been telling everyone for years how suited he is to be deputy foreign minister." During my four years of parliamentary service, I have neither aspired nor mentioned in any conversation such a proposition.

Moreover, in my reports to the Knesset on my missions to the Council of Europe and other

forums, I praised the staff of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and I have never advocated an all-out purge in the civil service. All I did in the wake of Mr. Meshel's statement "that he would protect all employees threatened by the Likud for their political convictions" was to retort by pointing out the hypocrisy of the Secretary General of the Histadrut. (Quote my statement: "Pressure and threats are exerted by the management of the Histadrut companies on the Likud members and there is no danger whatsoever for the civil servants, though some of the high-rank civil servants, including some ambas-

SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — The just concluded elections place in sharper focus the particular danger which now faces Israel, namely, that Jewish ayatollahs will decide the direction of future state policies.

The experience of other societies has demonstrated time and time again that, when religious fanatics have influenced governments, disaster follows. The history of England, Italy, Spain, Persia, Germany and many others, indicates that there is grave danger in mixing religious doctrines with the pragmatic secular interests of a country.

It is important that the relationship between religion and state becomes the subject of wider national discussion in Israel, remembering that both are important, but each in its proper domain.

JOSEPH GOTTFRIED
West Palm Beach, Florida.

DANISH RADIO

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — Having read the letters about the BBC's view of Jews and Israel (July 12 and 16), I feel your readers should know that the Danish radio follows the same line. On a recent broadcast, "A traveler's letter from Jerusalem," not a single positive comment was made about Jews during the two hours the programme lasted.

Of course, a lot of people objected to the broadcast, but not enough. The Danes are still very pro-Israeli, but that does not mean that continuous anti-Israeli propaganda will not cause some damage.

N.K. NIELSEN
Hafslund (Copenhagen).

HELP IN THE NORTH

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — I refer to Helga Dudman's article "Second chance on the border," which I read with great interest.

While acknowledging the achievements of Yitzhak Yakobi, I feel that credit should also be given to the persons and organizations involved on a voluntary basis in the work of continuing education and training of discharged soldiers.

The pioneering work of Ora Weisman, a retired social worker, together with Sgan Aluf Yigal Masad, the head of the Defence Ministry's Department for Discharged Soldiers in the Northern Area, made this project possible and enabled students to qualify for higher technical and university education as well as vocational training.

Another voluntary organization, which contributed much to this work, is Ma'an Besefer, Haifa.

DR. FRITZ FLECK

cease-fire or intermission



Photographed in an air-raid shelter in Kiryat Shmona.

Whether the tenuous cease-fire on Israel's northern border takes hold or has been broken by the time you read these words, one thing is for sure.

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